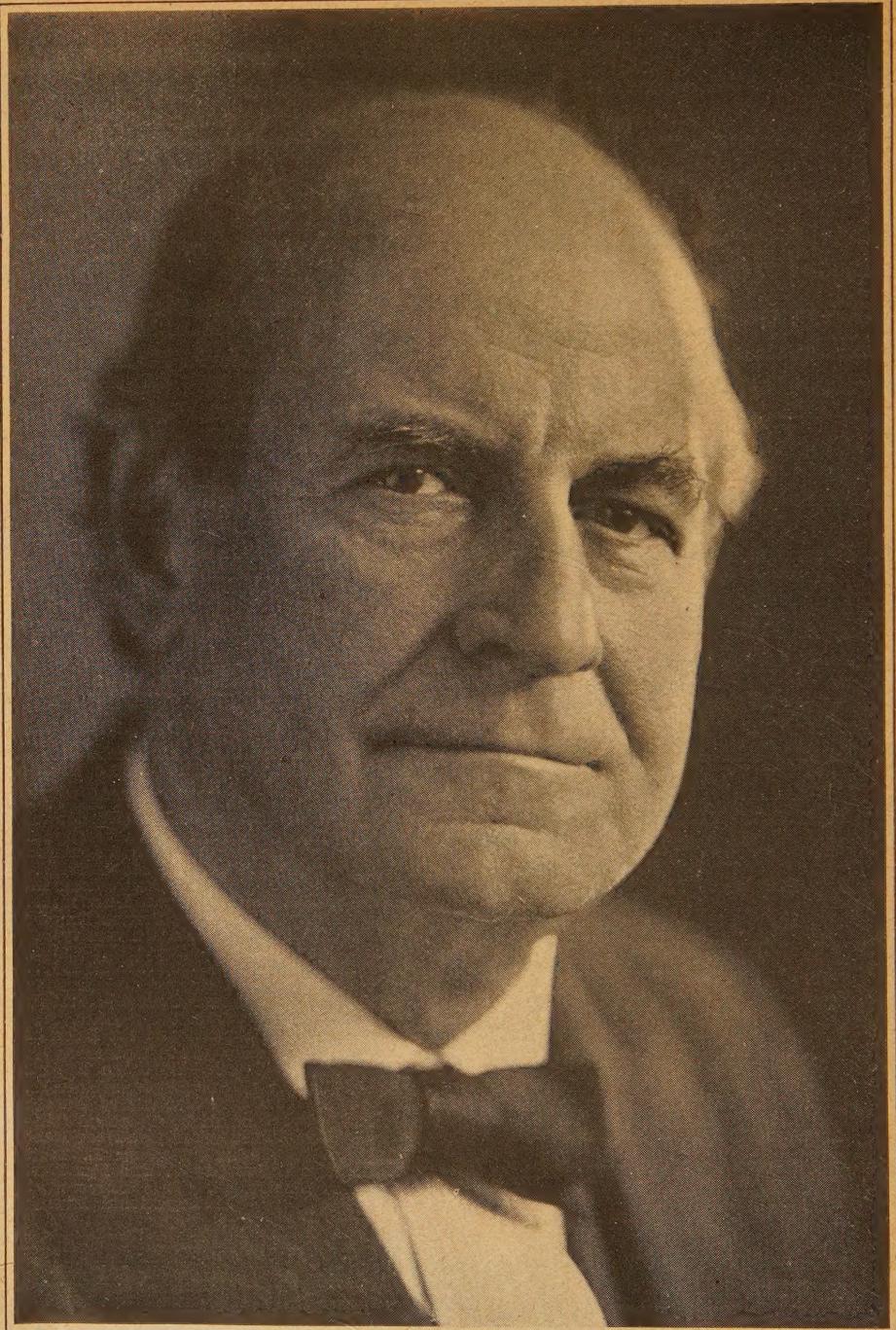


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Harris & Ewing, from Wide World Photos

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

Born at Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860; candidate for President of the United States in 1896, 1900 and 1908; Secretary of State from March 4, 1913, to June 9, 1915; died at Dayton, Tenn., July 26, 1925



CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXII.

SEPTEMBER, 1925

Number 6

The Passing of William Jennings Bryan

ONE of the most striking figures in American history passed away when William Jennings Bryan died at Dayton, Tenn., on July 26, 1925.

The son of a lawyer, Bryan was born at Salem, Ill., on March 19, 1860. After graduating from Illinois College in 1881 and from the Union College of Law, Chicago, in 1883, he entered the law office of Lyman Trumbull, former United States Senator. Later he practiced law at Jacksonville, Ill., and in 1887 he settled in Lincoln, Neb. He had already, in 1884, married Miss Mary Elizabeth Baird of Perry, Ill., by whom he had one son and two daughters.

During the Presidential campaign of 1888, Bryan attracted attention by his speeches in behalf of the Democratic national ticket, and in 1890 he received the Democratic nomination for Representative in the First Nebraska Congressional District, a Republican stronghold, which he captured to every one's surprise. He served in Congress from 1891 to 1895, being made a member of the Ways and Means Committee during his first term. It was during this period that he made a speech, on Aug. 16, 1893, in which he advocated "the free and unlimited coinage of silver, irrespective of international agreement, at the ratio of 16 to 1." This was the policy of bimetallism with which his name was linked for many years afterward. On this same issue he was de-

feated for a third term in the House, and also when he ran for Senator.

Bryan now abandoned the law and became editor of *The Omaha World-Herald*, in which he continued his advocacy of bimetallism as well as in his speeches. At the Democratic National Convention at Chicago in 1896 leaders of the party opposed the adoption of a free silver plank unless bimetallism should be provided for by international agreement. The debate seemed to be at an end when Bryan rose and made his famous "Cross of Gold" speech. After declaring that "the idle holders of idle money in Wall Street" were responsible for the evils of the day, he continued:

The individual is but an atom; he is born; he acts; he dies; but his principles are eternal, and this has been a contest over a principle. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer those who demand a single gold standard by saying:

"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The effect of these last words was sensational. The convention was stampeded and on the fifth ballot, over eight other candidates, Bryan was nominated Democratic candidate for President against William McKinley. Later he was also made nominee of the People's and National Silver parties. In the

campaign that followed Bryan broke all records for speechmaking and astonished the nation by the power of his oratory. The Republicans, however, were too powerful, and with the aid of the nomination of the "Gold Democratic" ticket, which received the votes of thousands of Democrats, McKinley won by 7,104,779 votes to Bryan's 6,502,925, and 271 votes in the electoral college to Bryan's 176.

Despite opposition, mainly in the East, Bryan remained the leader of the Democratic Party after the 1896 election. In 1898 on the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, he joined the volunteer army and obtained his title of Colonel as commander of the First Nebraska Volunteer Infantry. The regiment never left its training camp. After the war Bryan opposed the retention of the Philippines by the United States.

In 1900 Bryan was again nominated Democratic candidate for President. After another "whirlwind" speechmaking campaign he was again defeated by McKinley by a popular vote of 7,207,923 to 6,358,133, and an electoral vote of 292 to 155. After his second defeat, Bryan successfully established *The Commoner*, a weekly newspaper. He also began to earn a great deal of money as a public speaker. Despite his prominent position in the country he was not actively a candidate at the Democratic National Convention of 1904 when Alton B. Parker was nominated to oppose Theodore Roosevelt. In September, 1905, he started on a long trip around the world, arriving back in America a year later. It was after his return that he caused a stir among the Democrats by making a speech in New York City in which he advocated Government ownership of railroads. It was also about this time that he began to urge the necessity of world disarmament.

Bryan was in 1908 nominated for the third time as Democratic candidate for President, this time against William H. Taft, but again was defeated by a popular vote of 7,678,908 to 6,409,104 and an electoral vote of 321 to 162. A few months before the Democratic

National Convention in 1912 Bryan announced that he would not seek to be a candidate. When the convention met at Baltimore he supported Woodrow Wilson and finally succeeded in winning the nomination for him. Following Wilson's election Bryan was invited to become Secretary of State, and held office for two years and three months, resigning when he could not agree with the President regarding American war policy. Before the United States entered the war he had declared that it had been fomented by "profit seekers." When, however, America went to war, he promptly declared that Germany must be "defeated at all costs."

At the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis in 1916 Bryan, whose influence in his party had now definitely waned, was present only in his capacity of newspaper man. His position was still less important at the San Francisco convention in 1920, although here he attended as a delegate at large from Nebraska. He failed to get a prohibition plank inserted in the platform and refused to support James M. Cox as candidate. He remained silent throughout the campaign, it being remarked that this was the first time for forty years that he had made no speeches for a Democratic candidate. After 1920 he became a resident of Miami, Fla., and made money out of investments in Florida real estate. From this and other sources he accumulated a large fortune. As a delegate from Florida Bryan attended the Democratic National Convention of 1924 in New York. Although his influence was apparently negligible, his brother, Governor Charles W. Bryan of Nebraska, was nominated as candidate for Vice President. Bryan took little part in the campaign, and did not again come as prominently into the public eye as he was accustomed to until he went to Dayton to aid the prosecution in the Scopes trial, just after the close of which he died. By reason of his having expressed the wish to be buried at Arlington, and in virtue of his having held military rank, he was laid to rest there on July 31.

Bryan as a Political Leader

By GEORGE W. NORRIS
United States Senator from Nebraska

WE are just a little too close to the life of Mr. Bryan to write his history fairly and truthfully. There is in the minds even of those enemies who want to be fair an unconscious prejudice that has a tendency to warp the judgment and do him injustice. There is likewise in the hearts of his followers and admirers an unconscious pride which sometimes reaches idolatrous adoration, which causes the mind and heart to overlook his faults and exaggerate his virtues. As one who was his personal friend, and who truly admired his many great virtues and qualities, but who still disagreed seriously with many of his proposed remedies for political and human evils, I want, as truthfully as I can, to portray the real man without undue praise and without unjust criticism.

Mr. Bryan was human, intensely human, and that means he was imperfect. He was lovable because he was human and on account of all the imperfections that go with humanity. The influence of his life upon civilization has already been remarkable, and no human mind can fully estimate the effect of this influence through the years, even the generations, that are to come. The world is better, much better, because he lived. His great heart was true to the ideals of his faithful soul, and long after all of us who lived with him have passed from the scene of action, the life he lived, the things he did and tried to do, will lend encouragement and strength to those who follow and who are trying to lead men and women to higher and nobler lives. To a great extent it will be an influence unrealized by those whom it controls. His life, like an earthquake in midocean, will move the waves and ripples of humanity to the remotest shores.

Mr. Bryan stood out as a leader in two very prominent respects. Although

a private citizen, he influenced the politics of his country as perhaps no other man of his time. As a layman he has taught the lessons of the Holy Bible, as he understood them, to a larger congregation than any minister or priest of our age.

It is not necessary to agree with Mr. Bryan's theories either in politics or religion in order to admire his qualities, the greatness of his leadership, and his undaunted courage in defending his theories and denouncing what he believed to be evils. The world will regard him as a great political leader and a religious teacher, and yet, after all, in the truest sense of the term, in the highest type of politics and religion, there is but little difference between the two. Politics properly defined is the science of government, and our forefathers when they wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence said that the object of government was life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They might have confined this all in the one phrase "pursuit of happiness," because life and liberty are both embraced within the meaning of that phrase. Religion, while dealing with the future life, is, after all, entirely a matter of human happiness. Mr. Bryan's whole life was devoted toward increasing the happiness of his fellow-man according to the theories and doctrines he believed would best promote and bring about this condition.

The power of his great influence was his eloquence. In that respect he has had but few equals in the history of the world. His greatness in this respect often caused admiring followers to be enthralled in an admiration of enthusiasm which led them to go contrary to the dictates of reason and logic. His leadership at an early age in the politics of our country illustrates the power of his eloquence. He was a candidate for

the Presidency when he was a mere boy. His nomination came as a result of the mesmeric influence of his eloquence and not because of anything he had done or accomplished in the political world prior to that time. The enthusiasm of his followers in each one of his three campaigns for the Presidency knew no bounds, and yet the reason for their enthusiasm came not from what he had done or accomplished, but mainly because of the eloquence of his magnetic voice instilling into the hearts of men a justified belief of the sincerity of his purpose and the honesty of his intentions. He could picture the wrongs of a suffering people as they had never been portrayed before. That these wrongs existed and to a great extent still exist, could have been demonstrated with less eloquence and perhaps more reason, by thousands of others of his day. He could outline remedies that moved millions of his countrymen to enthusiastic support, even though pre-meditated reason would later show the fallacy of his proposition. And when time had shown that some of his remedies would not stand the test of reason, his mighty eloquence took the same citizenship over to enthusiastic support of other remedies which again in time failed to meet the test.

It must be remembered that Mr. Bryan's power was not as a constructive statesman, but rather as a conscientious, high-class critic. He had during his lifetime very few opportunities to do constructive work in statecraft. About the only chance he had in this direction was during the short time that he was Secretary of State.

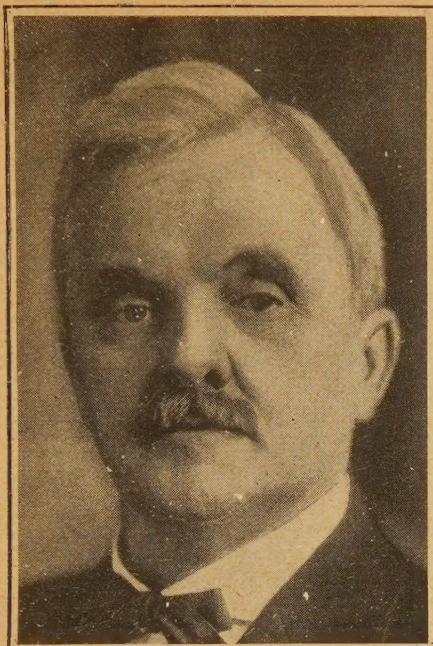
BRYAN'S WORK FOR PEACE

Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Mr. Bryan's life in this respect is the drafting of the peace treaties between our Government and nearly all the civilized nations of the world, by which there is provided a breathing spell during which time neither country shall begin hostilities. None of these treaties has ever yet been put to the test, but if they are, and are carried out in good faith, it will be found that in drafting

these treaties Mr. Bryan performed one of the greatest services for the benefit of world peace ever brought about from the beginning of civilization. Had such treaties existed between the nations of Europe there would have been no World War. In fact, it is difficult to imagine how there could be war between any two nations observing the terms of these treaties. They do not make war impossible, it is true, but they provide for a period of thought and give the fever an opportunity to be allayed by peaceful means. People would not fight and nations would not war if they would stop and think. In fact, in most civilized countries of the world, within that period there would arise a public sentiment in favor of peace and against war that would be simply unconquerable and irresistible and that would sweep all opposition before it. Public sentiment after all, in all civilized countries, is the greatest power of Government. Before its irresistible influence, when once aroused, crime and evil fade away as the dew before the rising sun. The Bryan Peace Treaties would likewise give this sentiment an opportunity to grow, organize and perform its peaceful mission. Passion would be held back; reason and logic would be given an opportunity to operate; and in this civilized age it is hard to imagine a war that would follow such an opportunity for passion to fade and reason to assert itself.

Mr. Bryan was not only eloquent—he was courageous, and, although many doubted it, and there were often many indications to the contrary, yet I am confident that he was always sincere. When the true history of the famous Baltimore Democratic convention is written, I believe it will be disclosed that Mr. Bryan could have been the nominee if he had been willing to compromise on some of the fundamental principles of his political faith.

I have never been one who believed that Mr. Bryan treated Champ Clark in that convention with the fairness and candor that he ought to have shown,



GEORGE W. NORRIS
United States Senator from Nebraska

but right or wrong, he had a great prejudice and suspicion against the purposes and the intentions, and even the honesty and sincerity, of some of the politicians in that convention, led mostly by the Tammany organization; and when he saw these men coming to the assistance of the candidate he was pledged to support, it naturally and perhaps logically caused him to take the steps that gave reason for the charge to be made that he was violating his own pledges and that he was doing it with the selfish hope that in the confusion he might emerge as the nominee himself. I do not believe he was moved by this motive.

If the real inside truth ever becomes known, it will be found that Mr. Murphy, the head of the Tammany organization, would have been perfectly willing for Bryan to become the nominee of that convention if he would show any conciliatory spirit. Upon authority that I do not believe for a moment can be successfully contradicted, I am informed

that on the eve of the convention Mr. Murphy himself suggested to one of the recognized national leaders, who perhaps had as much to do with that convention as any other one man, that it would be a good solution if, after they had ballotted a while and found it impossible to agree upon a nominee, they would nominate Mr. Bryan as their candidate. He did want a conciliatory speech from Mr. Bryan to the convention, but he asked no pledge; he asked no real sacrifice. I am not informed as to whether this information was communicated to Mr. Bryan, but I have no doubt whatever that it was. We all know that Mr. Bryan, instead of making a speech with the olive branch prominent, made one of just the opposite tenor and attacked, perhaps without full cause, the very delegates whose leader was proposing to end the difficulty by making Mr. Bryan the candidate. In all his life of activity I do not believe he ever gave a greater exhibition of courage than on this occasion. In fact, as I read history, I am unable to find anywhere the man who had put aside the crown of leadership when it could have been his at such small sacrifice. He stood entirely upon principle. He made an attack that was perhaps unreasonable and unjustified, but he did it because in his great heart he believed it was his duty to do it, and perhaps with a knowledge that if he had taken the easier and shorter course he himself might have at last achieved his one great ambition to become President of the United States.

The charge is sometimes made against Mr. Bryan that he was not grateful to his political associates. I do not believe this can be substantiated. It is true he sometimes fought with his accustomed and usual ability those who had in prior years supported him when he was a candidate for office, but no honest citizen who does not put party above his country will criticize the public man who refuses to support some one for office whom he believes to be unfit, dishonest or incompetent, simply because in prior campaigns he has had the support of that individual.

THE HARMON EPISODE

In one of Mr. Bryan's campaigns for the Presidency, Mr. Harmon, Democratic candidate for Governor of Ohio, left his State and went to the Eastern part of the country, where the Bryan opposition was fiercest, making speeches and doing everything he could to assist Bryan. Other Democratic candidates for Governor in the West and Middle West had been urgently requested by those in charge of the campaign to do the same, but no other Western or Mid-Western candidate for Governor would consent to leave his own State to help Mr. Bryan in the campaign. Mr. Harmon undoubtedly made a great sacrifice. From a party standpoint he was entitled to great credit. He was supporting Mr. Bryan when they did not agree on most of the fundamental principles of Government. He was running some risk in his own campaign by doing this. Later on, at a conference held for the purpose of trying to harmonize party differences, Mr. Bryan exhibited an editorial that he had written for *The Commoner*, in which, in his usual eloquent style, he made a severe attack upon Mr. Harmon and criticized him severely. Taking into consideration their disagreement on governmental questions, the criticism was entirely justified and nothing was contained in the editorial of a personal nature. It was called to Mr. Bryan's attention at that time that he ought not print this editorial, and that Mr. Harmon had gone out of his way to help him when he was a candidate for President, and he was urged very strongly not to print it.

It ought to be said in this connection that this conference took place when no campaign was on. Mr. Harmon was not then running for office. If he had been there would have been no danger of Mr. Bryan's printing such an editorial. The effect of it, however, was that, contrary to the judgment of his followers, he insisted on printing the editorial, and did print it. He was determined to do what in his judgment was right. He was willing to advise with his friends, but, after all, when the con-

sultation was over, the responsibility for the decision was his—responsibility that he could not avoid—and with the courage for the right, commendable beyond expression, he did what to him seemed to be the only just and proper thing to do. In measuring this courage we ought to remember the temptations surrounding this great man. He had an aspiration, a worthy one, to become President of the United States. Three times the place was almost within his grasp. The difficulty was to a great extent that he was not able to unite his followers. He could easily have done this on various occasions had he listened to the advice of politicians.

It is difficult to understand the difference between Bryan when there was no campaign on, and Bryan when he was controlled and influenced contrary to his own better judgment by the poisonous virus of partisanship. There are many illustrations that could be given where Mr. Bryan attacked the policies of public officials when the attack would certainly injure him in a partisan way. He seemed often to know no fear. Frequently, he never hesitated to speak his mind, even if such expression would bring him political and personal enemies; and when there was no campaign on he exhibited a conscientious and courageous attitude rarely surpassed among the political leaders of our country. When not blinded by the partisan influence of an active campaign, he must be given credit for sincerity, honesty and almost unlimited courage.

HIS GREATEST WEAKNESS

Mr. Bryan's greatest weakness was his intense partisanship. From a party standpoint, this may be considered one of his best attributes, but upon a high, patriotic ground, the plane on which I want to judge him, it was a weakness that could hardly be imagined to exist within the heart and soul of a man who was so intensely patriotic and so courageous in fighting for what he believed to be right. In this respect he had the attributes of many of the leaders in all

political parties—a loyalty to party that often conflicts with the higher duty to country. A partisan loyalty that puts party above country, in the eyes of logical, thinking men makes many of our leaders ridiculous and foolish, and it often made Mr. Bryan ridiculous. When no campaign was on, he courageously attacked those in public life whom he believed to be failing in the duty they owed to the country; but, later on, when the same men had received the Democratic nomination, his eloquent voice was raised in fervent appeal, pleading with his fellow-citizens to vote for men whom he had himself many times publicly denounced as unfit for public trust. History will never be able to harmonize his courageous conduct in exposing wrong and evil and advocating righteous government, with his weak and unreasonable advocacy of the election of men to office simply because they were Democrats and in face of his prior denunciation of the same men as unfit and unworthy. He believed that because he had been thrice the leader of a great party, that when he was interested in the appointment to office of any of his followers, the appointment should be made as a matter of course.

Several years ago Mr. Bryan spent an entire afternoon in my private office. I tried my best to convince him that his partisanship was his greatest weakness, but nothing I said seemed to have any effect. It seemed to me he did not stop to reason. He seemed to assume without making any defense, that the course he had always pursued in this respect was the only one he could take. We talked over various campaigns that had taken place in the past in our State, in which we had both participated. I called his attention to specific instances—one in particular, where he had taken with him through the State and advocated his election a Democratic candidate for Railway Commissioner who did not agree with Mr. Bryan on the railroad question in any particular whatever, but whose opponent, although a Republican, to a great degree, but perhaps not entirely, held ideas in harmony with those

of Mr. Bryan. He agreed with me that in that office in particular there should have been no politics and that men in supporting candidates for that office ought not be lined up on partisan grounds. He had no hesitancy in saying that the Democratic candidate whose election he had so forcefully and diligently advocated, would, if he had been elected, have taken a course directly opposite to the one Mr. Bryan believed should be taken. The only defense he made to his action was that if this candidate had been elected, he would have criticized him and denounced his pro-corporation attitude without mercy, and I have no doubt but that he would have done this. And yet, in that campaign, he took this candidate with him all over the State, and in every speech he made he had the candidate stand up before the audience while he pleaded with the people to give him their votes.

A BITTER OPPONENT

In this same conference Mr. Bryan criticized very severely the attitude of my Democratic colleague in the Senate. I knew, and in fact the whole country knew, that my colleague and Mr. Bryan, while both Democrats, belonged to opposite factions of the party. Their contests in the State for supremacy were very bitter. I am not here criticizing either of them. I believe they were both conscientious and that each was following his honest convictions. I am only trying to illustrate a weakness of Mr. Bryan, and it is sufficient for that purpose to say that Mr. Bryan regarded my colleague with an intense feeling of opposition. He was very anxious to see that a successor to him should be elected, more in harmony with me in the Senate, and he commended me as he has done hundreds of times in conversations that he has had with friends, for my independent attitude. He expressed a wish that in the coming Senatorial campaign, the Republicans might nominate a thorough progressive. He knew that my colleague could not be defeated for renomination in the Democratic Party, and the very man who

afterward became the Republican candidate was mentioned by Mr. Bryan with absolute and unequivocal approval.

When the campaign was on and this man so approved by Mr. Bryan was running for election to the Senate, and my Democratic colleague was the candidate on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Bryan campaigned the entire State in favor of the Democratic nominee, with whom he did not agree, and worked his very best to bring about the defeat of the other candidate with whom in the main he did agree. His influence in such contest was of no particular value to the candidate he was supporting, because every voter in the State knew from his various public utterances when no campaign was on that the Democratic nominee, according to his idea, was entirely and absolutely unfit for re-election; and in such cases, great as he was, and eloquent, powerful and forceful as he always had shown himself to be on the stump, I do not believe he made a single vote for the man he was supporting. The only effect was that some of the people lost faith in his sincerity, and therefore his power for good outside elections or in any other field of activity was very materially lessened.

As great as Mr. Bryan's influence for good has always been, it is nevertheless perfectly apparent that had he not been such a blind partisan, and had used his wonderful ability in favor of better government regardless of party, and had advocated doctrines in campaigns the same as between campaigns, he would have left behind him an influence and a force for better government and greater happiness among the people that has never been excelled in behalf of any individual in the history of the entire country. It is true that in this partisan way he was no worse than many other leading men, but he should have been better. He was greater than most of them, and if he had set an example before the country of denouncing the evil of overindulgence in partisanship, it is difficult even to imagine what would have been the effect upon millions of others in this respect.

The evil of partisanship is known of all men. Privately, it is usually admitted by those who are managing and controlling partisan politics, and had some one as great and as influential as Mr. Bryan boldly and fearlessly broken down this barrier, it would have brought about a loyal independence throughout the rank and file of the country that would have compelled even the most partisan politicians to be more careful in the selection of candidates and the management of party machines. It would have built up an independent attitude that would have shorn political machines and political bosses of much of their power.

Mr. Bryan's extreme and unreasonable partisanship was perhaps never better illustrated than in my own individual case. Although he stood out pre-eminently as the leader of the progressive element of the Democratic Party, and I always belonged to the progressive wing of the Republican Party, he never hesitated to go out of his way in practically every campaign I ever made to plead with the people to vote against me and very often in favor of men who he knew were directly opposed to every progressive principle of government—men who he knew, if elected, would come nowhere as near carrying out what he believed proper to be done as I would if elected. I always retained his personal friendship, and he never hesitated when there was no campaign on to be outspoken in my praise whenever he believed I had done anything worthy.

UNREASONABLE PARTISANSHIP

Mr. Bryan's influence either in favor of or against any one running for public office, especially in the State where he was best known, was very little. This was because the people knew of his unreasonable partisanship. They had great admiration for Bryan. They were willing to trust him. They were willing to vote for him, but they had learned that his partisanship had biased his mind and made him of no value whatever as an adviser. Like the balance of the people in my State I did

not fear his opposition. Everybody understood that when a man had the Democratic nomination Bryan was going to support him, regardless of anything and everything.

I was running for election to the House of Representatives on the Republican ticket in one of Mr. Bryan's Presidential campaigns. A day or so before election, from the rear end of a special train, he made over thirty speeches in my district. They were all short, it is true, but they were devoted almost entirely to my candidacy and that of my opponent. He told the people that he had no doubt but that he was going to be elected President, and while many of his hearers doubted this, there was a general belief he was going to carry Nebraska. He said that there was no use of making any effort to get votes in Nebraska for him; what he wanted his followers to do, in my Congressional District, was to get votes away from me and in favor of my Democratic opponent. He told them expressly that if they wanted to do him a favor they could do more by voting for my opponent than they could by voting for him. He wanted them to disregard the Presidential fight and devote all their efforts to the election of a Democrat for the House of Representatives from that district.

When he was making these speeches Mr. Bryan knew that the Democratic candidate for the House of Representatives had no sympathy with him nor with any of his doctrines, but was an ultra-conservative, who had not only never supported the things advocated by Mr. Bryan, but had fought them tenaciously and practically without exception. There was absolutely nothing in common between them so far as their beliefs in principles of Government are concerned, unless it be that each one called himself a Democrat. The next time I met Mr. Bryan after that campaign, he congratulated me on my election, and told me that I had no friend who was more delighted with the result than he was. He told me in the same conversation that he had told my oppo-

nent the same thing, and he emphasized the fact that while he and I disagreed on some things, we agreed on a great many, and that he and my opponent disagreed on everything.

I have never doubted that Bryan would have been a bitter opponent to the declaration of war with Germany had the Republicans been in control of the Government instead of the Democrats. He would have led an opposition with his usual force, the effect of which no one can now fully comprehend. I do not intimate that he was conscious of doing anything wrong, but I mention it only to illustrate the wonderful effect upon his mind of partisanship. I am arguing neither for nor against the wisdom of the course our country took. We entered the war, in the method provided for by the Constitution, and therefore it became the duty of all patriotic citizens to rally to the support of the country whether they believed the step was proper or improper. I do not believe any one will advocate that, particularly on such an important thing, partisanship ought to be taken into consideration in any degree whatever, and I am not charging that if any one took a different attitude on account of partisanship than he would otherwise have taken, he was conscious of the influence that controlled him. It is this unconscious influence, not only in politics but in every other attitude of life, that after all is one of the great and powerful influences that controls men's actions.

During the war and afterward I had many conferences with Mr. Bryan in regard to matters of legislation that were pending before Congress. There was one in particular that stands out fresh in my mind. It was an amendment that was put on by the Committee on Agriculture in the Senate to the Food Control act. It was known as the Bread and Beer amendment, and provided in substance that it should be illegal to use any food product in the manufacture of intoxicating liquor. I was the author of this amendment. Mr. Bryan appeared before the committee advocating its

adoption, and in private conversation he not only showed his anxiety and interest in the question, but he commended me in the highest of terms for the attitude I had taken and the fight I had made in its favor. From these conversations which I had with him I think I am justified in saying that he approved my entire course in the Senate. He was very enthusiastic because of this particular provision which I succeeded in getting into law after once having been defeated in my first attempt. He was generous and I have no doubt sincere in his praise.

AN INCONSISTENT SUPPORTER

Notwithstanding all this, he did as he had always done in other campaigns, opposed my second election to the Senate to the utmost of his ability. He did it as he told me himself, notwithstanding his belief that my opponent, in this, the most dangerous and memorable political contest I ever had, was more out of harmony with the governmental principles advocated by Mr. Bryan than was I. Business called him out of the State, so that he was not able to be personally present and vote, but he took the precaution to arrange, as he told me, a "pair" with a Republican friend of mine, so that the effect would be the same as if he had remained at home and voted; and in his genial, good-natured way he told me that while he was out of the State on election day he had been careful to make the necessary arrangement to have his vote count against me. He seemed to be perfectly satisfied with the course he had taken. He believed in all sincerity that he had done his full patriotic duty, and if he had any feeling that he had not been quite fair to me, that idea seemed to be entirely and completely dissipated when he told me frankly that he was glad I had been elected and that he thought my record in the Senate entitled me to such re-election.

Mr. Bryan's partisanship is forcibly illustrated by the story of a certain preacher who wanted me elected, but

who would not dare vote for me for partisan reasons. After a meeting one night in a campaign that I was making for the Senate this man met me on the street and introduced himself as a minister who had come from a town about fifteen miles away to hear me speak. He had never met me before. He told me that he had followed my record in Congress and that he was very much in favor of my election. In fact, he was enthusiastic about it, and he remarked: "Mr. Norris, I am so anxious to have you succeed that every night before I retire, on bended knees I ask God to see that you are elected to the Senate. Why, I sometimes get so anxious to see you elected that I almost feel as if I ought to vote for you myself." "My friend," said I, "if you feel that way about it, why don't you vote for me?" "Oh," he replied, "I could not do that. I am a Democrat."

Here was a leader of men much more humble and less influential than Mr. Bryan, but who in effect was taking a course exactly in harmony with that of Mr. Bryan. He was illogical. Some may even ascribe to him a much stronger term, but after all he was following the Bryan example. There are millions of them in this country doing the same as this preacher—praying one way and voting the other. They ask God to do what in reality they lack the courage to do themselves. They are shifting the responsibility from themselves to God. Blinded by the spirit of party, unmindful of the advice of Washington in his Farewell Address that this partisan spirit, if uncontrolled, will consume the very things it was intended to protect and warm—a blindness in public matters that biases the judgment and leads men to do not only illogical but foolish things where the rights and liberties of all the people are involved, these men have needed a Moses like William J. Bryan to lead them out of the illogical maze of unreasonable partisanship and place governmental matters on the same high standard that controls in business, social and religious affairs.

One of the greatest leaders of men, Mr. Bryan not only failed to grasp the

opportunity to assume a leadership of this kind, but he was himself blinded by the same partisanship that is the principal asset of political machines and political bosses and enables them to live and thrive, dealing in public office as the merchant handles his goods across the counter, always to the detriment and the injury of the honest business man and the patriotic citizen. Had he de-

nounced the evil of partisanship, the cornerstone upon which is constructed corrupt political machines, the same as he always denounced the machines themselves, he would have added untold lustre to his name and paved the way of human progress toward higher ideals in Government, the value of which to future generations surpasses the imagination.

Bryan—The Great Commoner

By FRANK PARKER STOCKBRIDGE

Newspaper correspondent and editor of long and varied experience

THE first time I met William Jennings Bryan was on a local train on the Niagara Falls branch of the New York Central, in the Summer of 1896. He was making his first campaign for the Presidency, and I was one of the numerous Eastern newspaper men assigned to travel with him on his invasion of "the enemy's country." In common with almost everybody else in the East, I had an intense curiosity to see what this "boy orator" might be like. There was something that fired the imagination in the thought of a man of 36 who by a single impassioned speech had shaped the policy of a great party and won for himself the nomination as its candidate for the Presidency. And the curiosity was intensified by the terror which conservatives of both parties openly expressed, lest Bryan's policies be imposed upon the nation. In Northern New York State, where I was then engaged in newspaper work, I had heard more than one stolid citizen declare, in all apparent seriousness, that if Bryan were elected he would sell out everything he had and move across the border into Canada.

What manner of man was this fire-eater from Nebraska, who could terrify respectable citizens by his words? What I saw was a rather engaging young man

with a prominent nose, an extremely wide, thin-lipped mouth, a smile that was almost a grin, a black alpaca coat, a "boiled" shirt, a low collar and a "string" tie, who talked with the utmost freedom to the newspaper men about himself, his political ideas, the policies of the Democratic Party and the proposals that had so frightened my conservative friends. He was a new type of politician to Eastern eyes and he was introducing a new type of political campaign. The contrast between Bryan's "rear-platform" campaign, whereby he went to his audiences instead of compelling them to come to him, and the "front-porch" campaign of Major McKinley in Canton, which I had left to join the Bryan train, was striking. It was a new idea in political campaigning and, in the opinion of the conservative East, highly undignified for a Presidential candidate. I know now that to the Western mind it was a perfectly natural and proper thing to do; but few who had grown up in the East knew (or cared) anything about the West or the Western way of looking at things, in 1896. To many newspaper men this contact with Bryan was our very first contact with the spirit of the West, our first revelation of the irreconcilable difference between the point of view of the Atlantic Coast and that of the Mis-

sissippi Valley; and we could not have established contact with any one who more completely typified that Western point of view than did William Jennings Bryan in his own person.

THE IDOL OF THE WEST

To the newspaper men who met him first in that campaign and between many of whom and Mr. Bryan warm personal friendships sprang up that lasted even unto death, he revealed himself then as he really was. No man in public life was ever more open and naïve in his self-revelations; for none in high position, in our time, has been less self-conscious. Few of us, however, were able to impress our views of Bryan, the man, upon our newspaper editors. The editors were wiser than we, in their own estimation; we had been successfully hoodwinked by a hypnotic charlatan, they assured us. How, they asked us, could a man be honest and hold such views as this man Bryan professed? Did we not see that it could not be done? And since, in their fixed belief, the things which he stated to be true were not true, could not be true, never were and never would be true, and anybody intelligent enough to vote knew that, there was nothing to it but that Bryan was a poseur, a demagogue, a mountebank. This refers to the Eastern press of both parties as a whole, though there were a few exceptions. What the press believed was what the Eastern leaders of the Democratic Party believed about Bryan; and what many of them still believe. The newspaper men who traveled with him in that campaign of 1896 and in his later campaigns, who learned then to love the man for his unaffected humanity, his decency, his wit, his own love of all mankind, know that he never posed, never compromised with the truth as it was given him to see the truth, and never departed from the naïve simplicity of his belief in the infallible "rightness" of the common people, whose champion he was by his own choice and the unwavering assent of millions of them.

Understand that fundamental fact and Bryan's whole life and public career are self-explanatory. The intellectual successors of Samuel J. Tilden could never understand him because they had no comprehension of, nor sympathy with, the views and policies which made him the idol of the West. He believed, and voiced the belief of millions, that the common people, the settlers struggling in the Mississippi Valley to win a larger, easier livelihood from the soil than the economic conditions of the times permitted the soil to yield them, were the victims not of social and cosmic forces, but of conspiracies by "interests" which, from their headquarters in Wall Street, were robbing these toilers of their birthright. In this belief he was the product of his times and his environment, as men always are. Politically, he was the product of the agrarian unrest which had been growing and crystallizing since the end of the war between the States sent its hundreds of thousands of young veterans, uprooted from their former environments, into the virgin country of the West, to wage unequal warfare with the forces of nature and with economic and social forces not yet adjusted to the new problems which their activities and needs brought into being. The significance of Bryan's nomination as the standard-bearer of the People's Party, after the Democratic Party, torn from its historic moorings by the tide which reached its climax in his "Cross of Gold" speech at the convention of 1896, had made him its Presidential nominee, must not be overlooked.

It was this People's Party which had made the first breach in the bulwarks of the two older parties when, in 1890, it sent "Sockless" Jerry Simpson, fiery Tom Watson of Georgia and two-score more to the national House of Representatives, and the bewhiskered Peffer and a handful of others of his kind to the United States Senate. And on this wave of Populism young Bryan had ridden into Congress, not as the People's Party candidate, as it happened (though that cannot be ascribed to any cause but the



Bryan in one of his characteristic attitudes when speaking. This photograph was taken at an open-air meeting in Union Square, New York City.

accident that the Democratic nomination in the supposedly rock-ribbed Republican First District of Nebraska came to him first), but as a nominal Democrat; a Democrat, however, whose political outlook and economic beliefs were as far removed from those of Grover Cleveland, the titular leader of the party, as those of any Populist of the lot. The East did not know what to make of this Populist phenomenon. The East has never understood it to this day. The East was still more mystified when, two years later, the People's Party, with General John B. Weaver as its candidate, elected twenty-two Presidential Electors. And Bryan was re-elected to Congress as a Democrat. The next four years of America's political history was the story of the effort of the leaders of both parties to see how much of the Populist program they could incorporate into their own without alienating more voters than such procedure would attract. The Populist platform embodied such radical demands as a graduated income and inheritance tax, Government ownership or supervision of railroads and telegraphs, woman suf-

frage, the eight-hour day, an elastic currency based on commodities in transit from producer to consumer or stored in Government bonded warehouses, and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen silver dollars to one gold dollar.

Of these proposals, the most widely insisted upon was "sixteen to one," cheap money. The politicians of both parties saw that anything that could swing enough votes to put twenty-two votes into the Electoral College was something to conjure with. What happened to the other planks such established institutions as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Reserve System, the Income Tax and Woman Suffrage amendments to the Federal Constitution testify. Parenthetically, let me suggest that what ultimately happened to "sixteen to one" was the discovery of gold in the Klondike and South Africa and the development of modern processes of ore reduction, with the consequent rise in all values measured by the gold standard, including that of silver. Between 1892 and 1896, however, it was a toss-up as to

whether the Republicans or the Democrats would make free silver their issue. Bryan, unknown and almost unheard of in the East in spite of his two terms in Congress, where he was classed with the rest of the Western radicals, saw his opportunity when, as a reporter for The Omaha World-Herald covering the Republican Convention which nominated McKinley, he had occasion to observe how narrow was the dividing line within that party's organization between the free silver advocates and the gold standard champions. Only at the last moment did conservative counsels prevent a stampede to this new panacea. It looked like a golden opportunity for the Democrats, if they could be made to see it, to pick up the issue which the Republicans had rather reluctantly passed by.

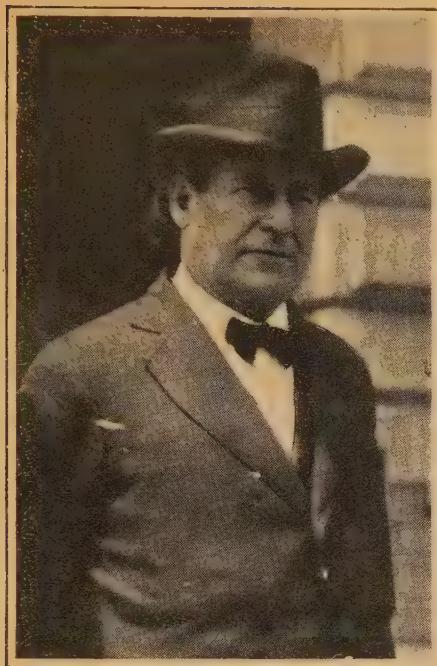
BELIEF IN EQUALITY

Bryan believed in free silver, as he believed implicitly in the other basic tenets of the Populists. They were demands originating from the common people of the Middle West, and he took literally Jefferson's dictum that all men were created equal. They were not only created equal; they *were* equal. Every man was the equal of every other man in all respects, including ability to grasp economic laws, frame political issues and administer public affairs. That he ever doubted for a moment his own ability to direct the destinies of the United States wisely and well, should he be President, nobody who knew him can for a moment doubt. That he recognized no difference in human abilities he demonstrated, in the only opportunity that ever came to him to make such a demonstration; when, as Secretary of State, he saw no reason why long-trained experts in the Diplomatic and Consular Service should not be replaced by "deserving Democrats." Believing in himself, then, not as a superman but as one of the common people gifted merely with extraordinary powers of eloquence and endurance, which he had tested and found effective in three campaigns, he set about, with the aid of a few friends,

to prepare the opportunity whereby he was to stampede the Democratic National Convention for free silver.

It is to be questioned, I think, that Bryan expected, planned or even seriously hoped to obtain the Presidential nomination for himself. It is doubtless true that members of the contesting delegation of which he was a unit said that the man who would be nominated was one of their own delegation. A canvass of the forty-six State delegations would have evoked a similar answer from some individual or group in every one of them. Forty-five would be wrong, but some one was sure to be right; and it was not much more than a coincidence that the 45-to-1 shot of the Nebraskans who boasted that their popular young orator would be the nominee came true. That there was a great deal of quiet and very clever manoeuvring to bring about Bryan's opportunity to address the convention is certain. That Bryan or any of his associates had any intention or hope other than that of swinging the convention to free silver I take the liberty of doubting. But that Bryan could hope to do this, believe that he could do it, is sufficient commentary on the confidence in his own powers, a confidence that never deserted him. He had the most implicit faith in himself, because he felt himself to be right. And he knew he was right, in 1896, about free silver, because the common people of his country, in the belief in whose rightness he never wavered, were for it.

That historic "Cross of Gold" speech at Chicago voiced all the emotions, all the aspirations of the great mass of struggling men who had sought relief through the People's Party; and it went beyond them to the other discontented, unhappy masses who had hesitated to break from traditional party lines but whose sympathies were all with Populism. Here was their leader, bearing the torch of liberation from the bonds of economic slavery; a leader whom they could follow, moreover, without straining their political traditions overmuch. And when the People's Party



Underwood

A photograph of the late Mr. Bryan, taken in Washington in May, 1914, when he was Secretary of State

followed by placing Bryan's name at the head of their ticket, too, the fusion was complete. Bryan stood for all that the downtrodden masses believed would realize their vision of economic equality; and he believed it, too. The East was more than horrified; it was panic-stricken. It did not understand this phenomenon, nor did it attempt to understand it. It was impossible, incredible that a man who had served two terms in Congress could actually believe in such heresies; therefore he was a charlatan, a hypocrite, a demagogue. And that is precisely what William Jennings Bryan never was. That is what we newspaper men learned that Summer of 1896, and confirmed in all our later contacts.

Looking back over my contacts with Mr. Bryan, which covered almost the whole period of his public life, I cannot recall any indication that he ever changed—not even in respect to the "boiled" shirt, the "string tie" and the

alpaca coat. He aged, but he retained his kindly humor, his naïve frankness and his gargantuan appetite until the last. A teetotaler by conviction, he was the most intemperate of feeders. To see Bryan devour a huge platter of sauerkraut and frankfurters, served originally for four men, and call for another helping, as I saw him do one hot day in St. Louis, was a liberal education in gastronomics. It was this enormous capacity for food that supplied the enormous physical energy of the man—that and his ability to fall asleep anywhere, in any posture, by simply closing his eyes. There has never been a campaigner with his endurance. He established in that 1896 campaign a precedent which Roosevelt, running for Governor of New York in 1898, was the first to follow, and Roosevelt, though fresh from the Cuban war, almost went to pieces under the strain of making half as many speeches as Bryan had made in the same period. The "rear-end" method of campaigning killed Woodrow Wilson, killed President Harding, and it had worn Mr. Taft almost to exhaustion in 1908. Bryan never showed that it affected him at all.

A MAN OF GREAT FAITH

Take such a tireless physical machine and fire it with a burning faith and you have the stuff of which prophets and crusaders are made. It is those elements in his make-up which must always stand out strongest in the memory of those who knew him. His capacity for belief was almost as enormous as his capacity for physical food. Faith was the meat on which his spirit fed. He really believed and never ceased to believe that the East, especially New York City, was "the enemy's country." When he read his speech in Madison Square Garden in 1896 instead of delivering it oratorically, to the disappointment of all who flocked to hear another "cross of gold" outburst, it was because he really believed that there was a conspiracy between the "interests" and the press of the metropolis to garble the newspaper reports of his speech to his discredit.

I have no means of knowing whether the story is true or not, related by one of that group of reporters who accompanied him on that tour, that when he visited at Tarrytown John Brisben Walker, one of the few Eastern Democrats of prominence who accepted Bryan unequivocally as the party's head, he made no distinction between his host and the functionary who served them, and, on hearing the man addressed by his domestic title, addressed him thereafter as "Mr. Butler!" The story was told, however, and to many it seemed entirely credible.

It was precisely his acceptance of the perfect equality of all men that made men his friends, even though they could not accept his political, economic or religious beliefs, and that made him the friend of them in turn. There was nothing narrow about Bryan in his personal relations. It was impossible for him, I believe, to hate any man; certainly he could not hate any man whom he knew, however bitterly he might oppose his principles and acts. He loved all humanity, and so men of all casts of thought and belief, every economic and social status, loved him. And millions fairly idolized him; the millions whom his last act in life endeared to them as never before. For he was one of them, he felt and believed as they felt and believed about the important things of life. That following was the force which enabled him to sway political decisions within the Democratic Party. Although he could not achieve the Presidency, he could keep others of whom he disapproved from achieving it—Alton B. Parker from being elected, Champ Clark from being nominated. He was a force to be reckoned with seriously in any consideration of national politics for nearly thirty years, and that can be said of no other American of recent times, not even of Roosevelt.

As a politician Bryan was by no means the astute schemer he has been credited with being. He was wrong in his estimate of popular issues oftener than he was right. Nevertheless, in this, as in everything else, he was merely the

spokesman of the great otherwise inarticulate mass which he knew as the common people. Through his newspaper, *The Commoner*, for nearly a quarter of a century he kept his finger on the pulse of the people as no other political diagnostician has ever done. He had his correspondent in every county; his paper, with its circulation of a hundred thousand and more, went into every crossroads hamlet. Under the direction of his brother Charles a huge correspondence was kept up for years between Lincoln, Neb., and these outposts of democracy; an entire floor in the office building of *The Commoner* was filled with stenographers writing letters to the faithful in response to their reports of the political situation as they saw it close at hand. Bryan knew, before anybody else did, what the common people wanted and what they would accept. His influence in Congress was always potent for this reason.

BRYAN'S SPEECH OF 1904

The one Democratic national convention in his time in which Bryan did not exert a potent influence was that held in St. Louis in 1904, when the "gold" wing of the party was again in the saddle and "free silver" received its final burial as a political issue. It was at this convention that Bryan made a speech which, in the estimation of many that heard it, surpassed in eloquence his "cross of gold" speech of eight years earlier. Certainly the circumstances under which it was delivered were equally dramatic; had it achieved its purpose, as the other did, it would have been treasured among the historic gems of oratory as that one will always be. Bryan, working all day and all night under terrific pressure to prepare his argument against the inclusion of a "gold" plank in the platform, after he had failed to prevent the nomination of Judge Parker, found himself at daybreak with a cold which speedily developed into such a severe congestion of the lungs that three physicians, called in consultation, ordered him to bed.

Pneumonia threatened, they declared, and he must cease work at once.

Bryan had yielded, reluctantly, to the doctor's orders, when word was brought to him of Judge Parker's telegram to the convention, declaring that he could not accept the nomination unless the party's platform, yet to be promulgated, contained an unequivocal declaration for the gold standard. Bryan declared his intention of going at once to the convention hall. The doctors tried to dissuade him; he would be signing his own death warrant. He insisted. Free silver, the dogma upon which he had pinned his faith, the banner under which he had won his spurs, the formula whereby his beloved common people were to be set free, was in its death agony. It was not in him to let it perish without a desperate attempt to save it, even though in the attempt he himself should perish. He knew that he was risking his life, but for that he did not care. The doctors solemnly and formally repudiated all responsibility. They could do nothing to prevent him, and he went to the convention hall and, amid sparse and scattering cheers, ascended the platform and faced his hostile audience.

As a special deputy sergeant-at-arms of the convention I was free to move about the hall, but I could not get near enough to hear Mr. Bryan's opening words. The congestion of the lungs had stilled that powerful voice so that those twenty feet from him could barely hear his opening words: "It was a brave thing Judge Parker did, to send that telegram to this convention. I say it was a brave thing, but it would have been a braver thing had he sent it before he had been nominated!" Then, with an effort which seemed almost to exhaust him for a moment, he forced his voice to its old power again, and for half an hour spoke in tones that carried to the furthest gallery. That was the way Bryan fought for the things in which he believed. He risked his life that night in a losing fight for his faith, and he stood ready to run the same risk whenever his faith was endangered, as it was

at Dayton, where he won the fight and lost his life gladly enough for its winning.

Between Bryan and Woodrow Wilson, the one President in whose nomination and election he was instrumental, there never was and never could be any common ground of understanding. In the July, 1924, issue of CURRENT HISTORY I told of Mr. Wilson's opinion of Bryan, expressed a year before he was nominated, and of the part Bryan played in the convention in bringing about that nomination. Bryan and Champ Clark had more in common. Mentally they were of the same type. Each had an inquiring mind filled with an assortment of unrelated facts. Even a sincere friend and personal admirer of Mr. Bryan must admit the force of the pithy comment of Sydney Brooks, who wrote of him: "He amassed innumerable experiences but no experience. He knew everything and understood nothing. He had no scale, no standard by which to test the feasibility of his ideas." He *had* a standard, but it was not a standard which is ordinarily applied in practical politics. His standard was the common man as he conceived him; a creature innately good, as Bryan was himself, hating vice, corruption, war; loving peace and his fellow-man. Had the common people whom he loved been constituted as he was, as free from selfishness and self-seeking, doubtless many of his political ideals and theories would have worked out. What he never learned was that even the common people can be wrong.

It is so impossible to divorce any attempt at estimating Bryan from some discussion of his religion, that it seems not improper to say that he thought an un-Christian world could be run according to the literal tenets of Christianity. Woodrow Wilson, himself an elder in the Presbyterian church of which Bryan was the most famous layman, had no such illusion. No less devout a Christian than Bryan, he placed less reliance upon the power of brotherly love to conquer self-interest, between men or between nations. Where Bryan

devoted himself to the negotiation of treaties of arbitration and when these were complete believed that he had insured the peace of those parts of the world which they covered, Mr. Wilson, I remember, once said in my hearing that when he had been asked to attend an arbitration conference he had replied: "Yes, if I may speak in favor of war!" What Mr. Wilson realized was that the Christian ideals which he held could be secured and extended only by aggressive and persistent insistence upon them; what Mr. Bryan assumed was that all mankind—at least, all the common people—were already fully possessed of them and asked only the opportunity to be permitted to apply them to public and international affairs.

CLASH WITH WILSON

It was inevitable that these two men should part. I can pretend to no secret information as to the cause of the break between them. To me it seems to have been written in the stars from the moment when Mr. Wilson, looking out of a train window across the New Mexico desert in 1911, decided that the next ^{any}resident, if a Democrat, would have to placate Bryan's friends by giving him the highest place in the Cabinet, or run the risk of having a hostile Congress on his hands. Yet the personal friendship between those two men was never severed: Men who loathed all that he stood for, scoffed at all that he believed in, were drawn to Bryan by the lovable

quality of his personality and by what amounted to an envious appreciation of his steadfastness in holding to the truth as it was given him to see the truth, in bearing aloft the torch of what he conceived to be the right, regardless of possible consequences to himself. Often it is given to one at a distance to see more clearly than close at hand. From across the Atlantic, on the day when Bryan's death was announced, came a commentary so searching, so penetrating, that it seems to me to be the clearest picture that has been penned of him in a few words. *Le Matin*, one of the leading papers of Paris, referring to Bryan as the "Great Puritan," with Gallic directness and clarity interpreted him thus:

He gave an impression of one returned to earth from the wars of religion. The Bible was the only book he wished to know. The commandments of God were the only rules he would choose for his own guidance or in order to lead the country of his birth. * * * His death, coming a week after his victory over the "enemies of God," seems a perfect crowning of his life and work.

Our history has no parallel for Bryan. Except that the personal characters and ideals of the two were widely different, the nearest historical comparison is with Henry Clay, the beloved "Mill Boy of the Slashes," thrice a Presidential candidate, an orator who swayed men's minds and emotions with his silvery tongue as Bryan was to stir them half a century later. But there the parallel ends. Bryan, Puritan and prophet of the people, stands alone.



somewhat more conservative than are men who are without property interest.

Despite the impression created by the widespread anti-union propaganda of such bodies as the National Founders' Association, organized labor in America is anything but radical. The strongest unions are those of the most highly-skilled, best-paid workers, and the single-hearted purpose of each is to get better wages, hours and conditions for its own members. The indifference of these unions to the plight of unskilled labor, whether organized or not, has long been the despair of humanitarians. Conditions may arise in this country which will produce solidarity of interest and joint political action among the workers; but those conditions are not yet here.

THE SOCIALIST COLLAPSE

3. Another group which participated in the 1924 Progressive campaign is that of the Socialists. When we look at their present situation the picture is about as doleful from their own point of view as it could very well be. Socialism in America has been from the beginning an alien importation, German in its chief characteristics, and finding its strongest adherents among those of German blood. America's participation in the war, as every one knows, was a well-nigh fatal blow to the formal Socialist organization in this country. The competing loyalties of patriotism and devotion to the ideal of international working-class brotherhood, here as in several European countries, produced a division in the ranks from which the movement in the United States has by no means yet recovered. The support of La Follette in 1924 was a gesture of weakness, entered upon because the party was incapable at the time of making an effective national campaign, even of the old-fashioned educational sort, and knew it.

Nothing could be more illogical, of course, than support of a Progressive movement by pure Marxian doctrinaires. The Socialist, or theory+utterly op-

gards them as merely delaying the day of the coming of complete reorganization of society, with private ownership of the tools of production abolished. To be really consistent with the principles they have always preached, the Socialists should have voted for Coolidge. When they cast in their lot with the La Follette Progressives it was merely a sign that they had succumbed to the universal American itch for an immediate, opportunistic victory instead of fighting on in a lost cause for no other reason than because one believes it to be right. Recent indications are, however, that Socialists now believe their action of a year ago was unwise and that they are likely to stand aloof from any similar Progressive movement, at least in the immediate future.

The Socialists are in still further difficulties, created largely by the Russian developments. The American Socialist propaganda, founded on the German model, has espoused a mild doctrine, hardly more, in fact, than State socialism. It has talked, to be sure, in terms of a world-wide uprising of the proletariat, but in practice it has been mainly interested in electing Mayors of cities and putting into practice a few simple aspects of municipal ownership. Such an attitude corresponds roughly to that of the Mensheviks in Russia, who have had almost the hardest time of all under the dictatorship of such extremists as the Bolsheviks.

This split in the general movement in Russia has been reflected in the United States. The extremists here have gone over to the rigidly radical Communist organization, the Workers' Party. The remainder of the Socialist movement in this country has therefore been left in a middle-of-the-road position; and no one is so unhappy and awkward in such a place as the Socialist, temperamentally a révolté, and disliking violently to be obliged to say "on the one hand * * * on the other hand" or "thus far we must go and no further." To an outsider it is a fascinating and for what the farmer con-

other parts of the world, plus continued expansion of European purchasing power as a result of economic restoration. While over a period of years, as I shall try to show, the outlook for American agriculture is an encouraging one, there is no guarantee that in 1926 or 1927 the world market may not be oversupplied in proportion to its purchasing power, and the American farmer again forced to suffer. In that case, illogical human nature would cause him to blame Mr. Coolidge for a disaster with which the President has nothing to do.

Such untoward developments, however, would be accidental; barring them, President Coolidge is likely to be returned to office for another four years. In considering the future of the progressive movement we should therefore take a long view. What is the outlook, in those terms?

LABOR'S ATTITUDE

(2) Since I am, as I have said, not trying to wear the cloak of a seer, I can best analyze the situation by reporting the present position and general prospect for each of the groups which combined in the Progressive campaign of 1924.

One of the most important of these is organized labor. The policy of the American Federation of Labor had for many years prior to 1924 been one of refusal to join any political organization as such. Samuel Gompers believed that labor could do best for itself by refusing "entangling alliances" with Republicans, Democrats, or any other party. His policy was to seek the nomination and election in each local fight of individuals favorable to the specific objectives of labor at specific times, regardless of the candidate's party affiliation. Whether this policy was wise or not, it was so regarded by Gompers and his group. As a matter of fact, the political prestige of trade union leaders has always in America been more or

less of which both

file of the unions are glad to accept the rule of their leaders in strictly union affairs, since it is obviously to their advantage to do so. When it comes to politics, however, the American tradition has always been that no citizen has the right to dictate to any other how he shall vote. Even in 1924, when the American Federation of Labor endorsed the La Follette candidacy, it is to be doubted whether the endorsement added materially to the number of votes from union members which the Progressive ticket received.

The American Federation of Labor, under President Green, has now gone back to the old Gompers policy. The organization will not, unless it again changes its mind, endorse any party in future national elections. It will, as in the past, seek to get its planks adopted in the platform of each party, and thus support or reject candidates in various localities according to their individual attitudes.

Whether or not a similar policy will eventually dominate the four great railroad brotherhoods, it is hard to say. They have in the past been somewhat more sympathetic with third party politics than was the American Federation of Labor under Gompers. However, in the case of the railroad brotherhoods an influence is at work which is beginning to be felt powerfully throughout the ranks of all organized labor, and deserves comment. It might be called "the going over to capitalism."

The unions have discovered that the united economic power of their members is very considerable indeed. By pooling their resources, they have established a large number of strong and rapidly growing banks. They have also inaugurated other enterprises, some of them cooperative, some of them, like the coal mine ownership by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, straight investments of union funds. These enterprises have given the members of the participating unions a stake in the existing economic order which, while not at all incompatible with the ideals of

fighting madly among themselves, publishing papers devoted to abusing, not their common enemy but some one faction which stands three feet further to the left or right.

In numbers all these factions combined are at present entirely negligible in American political life. The Socialist vote registered in a national election is probably much larger than the actual strength of the movement, since nearly all party members go to the polls and to them must be added each time a considerable number of discontented persons who are not Socialists but vote that ticket by way of general protest. Even so, the average vote for the Socialist candidate in the past five national elections (exclusive of 1924) was only 644,000, or about 13 per cent. of the La Follette vote last year.

COMMUNISTS NEGLIGIBLE

It is difficult to ascertain the actual number of Communists in the country; the party was for some time in the post-war period illegal, and many of its activities are still conducted underground. None of the estimates from any responsible source which the writer has seen gives a larger number of members than 25,000. The wild stories which are so frequently broadcast by "professional patriots" seeking to frighten the citizenry into joining some anti-radical society appear to have no foundation in reality. In any case, of course, the Communists are of no importance in considering the future of the progressive movement. They are rigidly and irrevocably opposed to it and will take no part in it except to sabotage and hamstring it if they can.

(4) Generally speaking, the typical American psychology at the present time is one which makes successful radical movements almost impossible. Radicalism depends upon the inculcation of the doctrine of class consciousness; and such a doctrine is alien to the conditions of life on this continent, past, present and probably for a long time to come. For class consciousness implies acceptance of one's present condi-

tion as a permanent fact, and nobody in America, except, perhaps, a few foreign-born individuals working in sweatshop trades in great cities, will admit for one moment that his present status will continue. Every American is "on the make"; he expects to be a millionaire in twenty years, or at least to have a home in the suburbs and a car within five years. As American business is built upon the expectation of larger and larger production, so the psychology of the individual is based upon the prospect of personal success.

This great American myth is of course in part fallacious. Many thousands of people have a family income which is below the minimum estimated in the official budgets prepared by the Department of Labor and other authorities. As things are going, this condition is likely to continue. On the other hand, it is true that thousands and thousands of individuals do better their status from year to year. The average American workingman, outside the great cities, already lives on a scale which would be regarded with some envy by most members of the petty bourgeoisie in Europe. There is a sort of magnificient absurdity in telling the workingman "you have nothing to lose but your chains" in a land where there are 17,000,000 automobiles for 25,000,000 families.

(5) Let us turn now to the farmer, the other great element in the progressive movement in recent years. I think any one who has had personal experience among them will agree that farmers the world over are by nature a conservative lot. The character of their occupation, the isolation of their lives and the inadequate education which most of them have obtained in the past, all conspire to make the tiller of the soil a supporter of the existing order of things if conditions make this possible. The history of this country shows that whenever prosperity descends upon them the "radicalism" of most farmers melts away overnight. This "radicalism," of course, is usually no more than a demand for what the farmer con-

ceives as fair play: a reasonable price for his products, which will enable him to live and clothe and educate his family.

The American farmer has suffered bitterly in the past few years. This is not the place to recite the list of his grievances; but it is proper to observe that as he himself has seen them they have consisted of two main groups. Over a long period of years the general economic policy of the country has been one which has favored the manufacturer at the farmer's expense. The latter buys in a protected market and sells in an open one (since a tariff on agricultural products is, of course, of no value, considering that we export, instead of import these). Also, this surplus which we export and sell on the world market is there forced to compete with products (wheat in particular) from countries with very much lower standards of living and production costs than our own. The farmer's problem is accentuated by the conditions which make it necessary for him to sell his whole year's crop at one time, when every competing farmer is likewise doing so—a condition which lends itself ideally to unfair exploitation by the middleman.

THE FARMERS' LOSSES

The second set of circumstances was special and peculiar. The farmers of the country suffered worse than any one else in the deflation of 1920-21. Not only did the prices of their products tumble to a level in many instances far below the cost of production, but credit was restricted and the value of land fell one-half or more, shortly after millions of acres had been bought at the top of the market with borrowed money.

The first set of conditions I have outlined produced the Non-Partisan League movement in North Dakota and Minnesota, aimed primarily at breaking the grip of the bankers and elevator and milling men on the farmers of that district. Though it was the fashion at the time to describe it as "red radicalism," it was just the opposite of radical in its most important aspect. Radicalism in-

sists upon common ownership of the tools of production. The chief "tool of production" in the Northwest is the farmer's land, and not only was there no movement to take it away from him, but any such proposal would have been rejected instantly and violently.

The second set of conditions (plus to some extent the first) resulted in the farmer unrest of 1921-24, which produced among other things the "farm bloc" in Congress. The extraordinary rise in the price of wheat just before the last election caused a reaction which, while it may prove only temporary, has been none the less enormously effective in its political results. In addition, the bogey of revolution, of "Bolshevism," which was attached to the Progressive campaign, proved to be as effective among the farmers as it was with other groups.

(6) As I have already said, another collapse in the price of farm products is by no means impossible, though the conditions of 1920-21 are not likely to be repeated. It is also true that for two generations past, the farmers of the Middle West, broadly speaking, have not been making money out of selling what they produce. From that source they have made a bare living; their real profits have come from the growth in the value of their land as the population of the West has increased. The rate of that increase has now greatly slackened; some of the best States, like Iowa, have reached a practically stationary position. The increment in land value can no longer be counted on as a positive factor in the farmer's problem. He will soon reach a point where he must get his profits, if he is to have any, from the sale of what he raises. And he is still selling his produce in a market which is rigged against him—not through anybody's malevolent intentions, but just through the accidental developments of economic history.

Therefore, the American farmer is by no means "out of the woods." It is conceivable that he may, in 1928, 1932 or 1936, find himself again in a position where, in the desperate desire for relief,

he will rebel against the conservative Republican policies which at present he seems to find quite satisfactory.

Even this general situation, however, is not a permanent one if we look at the matter in a long enough perspective. The population of the United States is still growing with great rapidity; though the flood of immigration has been dammed up, our birth rate is still twice as high as our death rate, and augments the population by about one per cent. a year. Against this increase must be set agricultural resources which are strictly limited. So good an authority as Herbert Hoover has estimated that the United States will cease to export foodstuffs within another decade. Presumably we shall thereafter be obliged to import; which will make perfectly feasible a high tariff policy to put the farmer on an equality with other protected manufacturers. I am taking it for granted, the reader will note, that none of the proposals for artificial subsidy to the farmer, such as that in the McNary-Haugen Bill, will be adopted. If we look ahead a little further—say, a century—we see a condition where world population will have so far overtaken world food supply that unless extraordinary new sources are developed—perhaps in the tropics, perhaps through synthetic manufacture—the farmer will “own the earth.”

DEMOCRATS' CONSERVATISM.

(7) From time to time hopeful progressives are heard suggesting that an attempt be made to capture for their purposes the Democratic party. There are, it is true, many strongly liberal Democrats, and it is not impossible that one of them might be named as the candidate to oppose Mr. Coolidge in 1928. But if this happens, it will be the result of pure luck. The Democrats showed in 1924 that in their present condition of bitter internal dissension they are incapable of laying plans which are based on an intelligent analysis of the situation. In that year neither of the chief factions was able to get its way over the opposition of the other. Con-

sequently, they compromised and got nothing. There is no reason to suppose that they will be any better off in 1928.

In any case, the Solid South, which is the nucleus of the Democratic Party and in 1924 was about all it had left, is not in the least in a progressive frame of mind. It is, in fact, quite as conservative, though along different lines, as is New England; and if the present development of Southern manufacturing continues, its conservatism may develop in precisely the same direction. Such progressivism as now exists in the Democratic Party is found north of the Mason and Dixon line. In 1924 enough of it bolted from Mr. Davis to Mr. La Follette to make the Democratic vote in the States north of Missouri and west of the Mississippi River almost nonexistent.

(8) Conservatism has one ally which I have not yet mentioned, one which, at any rate for the next few years, will probably be more powerful than all its others combined. I refer to the present financial situation of America compared to the rest of the world.

The war, needless to say, completely altered the financial balance of power. While it put a heavy burden on this country, that of the European nations was, of course, enormously greater; and in our own case the war sacrifice was to a considerable degree offset by the vast expenditures of the Allies in the United States both before and after we entered the conflict. From a debtor nation we have suddenly become one with \$12,000,000,000 of Government loans abroad and \$9,500,000,000 more of private advances. When London is obliged to refer to us the major part of a loan to Australia, when American capital is called upon to build a London subway, and when Great Britain obtains in the United States a \$300,000,000 credit by which to reinforce the return to parity of the pound sterling, no one need labor the point that America is now the centre of the world's wealth.

It is inevitable that this circumstance should react upon our national thinking in diverse ways. For one thing,

economic imperialism almost always inevitably brings with it political imperialism. For another, the sight of so much misery as we have seen in almost every other land throughout the world in the past ten years has produced a lively anxiety lest the same thing be visited upon us; and a determination not to change the present national policies which, whether they cause our prosperity or not, are at least coincident with it.

This is particularly true when the American looks at Russia. Whatever may be the real facts about the relationship between Communist practice and poverty, the average American is undoubtedly convinced that in Russia they have been cause and effect. We saw in 1924 what a terribly effective weapon was the cry of Bolshevism, raised against a program which had no more resemblance to Bolshevism than it had to Plato's Republic. No one can doubt that the same cry will continue to be effective in the same way for a long time to come.

TEMPERAMENTAL WEAKNESSES

(9) Finally, the progressive movement in America has suffered because of a universal weakness of American politics and perhaps of the temperament of our people. The progressives have wanted to win, and to win at once, and to win on the largest possible scale. As a result, the movement has rushed into conflicts for which it was far from

being ready; and in the endeavor to compensate for this lack of preparedness, it has made compromises very nearly fatal to its underlying ideals. Progressivism has not been willing to agree upon a set of principles which it regards as fundamentally just, and then invite those who accept such principles to rally to its banner whether they prove to be a thousand in number, or a million. Instead, in its desperate eagerness to roll up a formidable weight of numbers, it has sought to include within its rank people whose ideas are actually antithetical.

The writer would be the last to deny that there is room for a progressive movement in America now. On the contrary, he believes that with the present type of conservatism in the saddle—conservatism based upon a doctrine that prosperity must be insured for those at the top, and will then trickle down through the classes—an active progressive movement is needed as it never has been before. But clearly, it is not at present ready for an appearance on a nation-wide stage. It should begin in those localities where the soil is best prepared for it. And if it is wise, it will not try to win anything whatever by compromising and fusing with other groups to which it ought not logically be joined. Such a progressive movement may not play a part in the national campaign in 1928 or 1932; but when it finally does, it will amount to something.



The Chinese Crisis— A Conflict of Cultures

By CHARLES HODGES

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HISTORICALLY speaking, China has been convulsed twice by the invasion of foreign influences within the past twenty-five years. The opening of the century saw the world startled by the spectacular Boxer troubles of 1900; and the recrudescence of Chinese unrest in this year of 1925 has been no less dramatic.

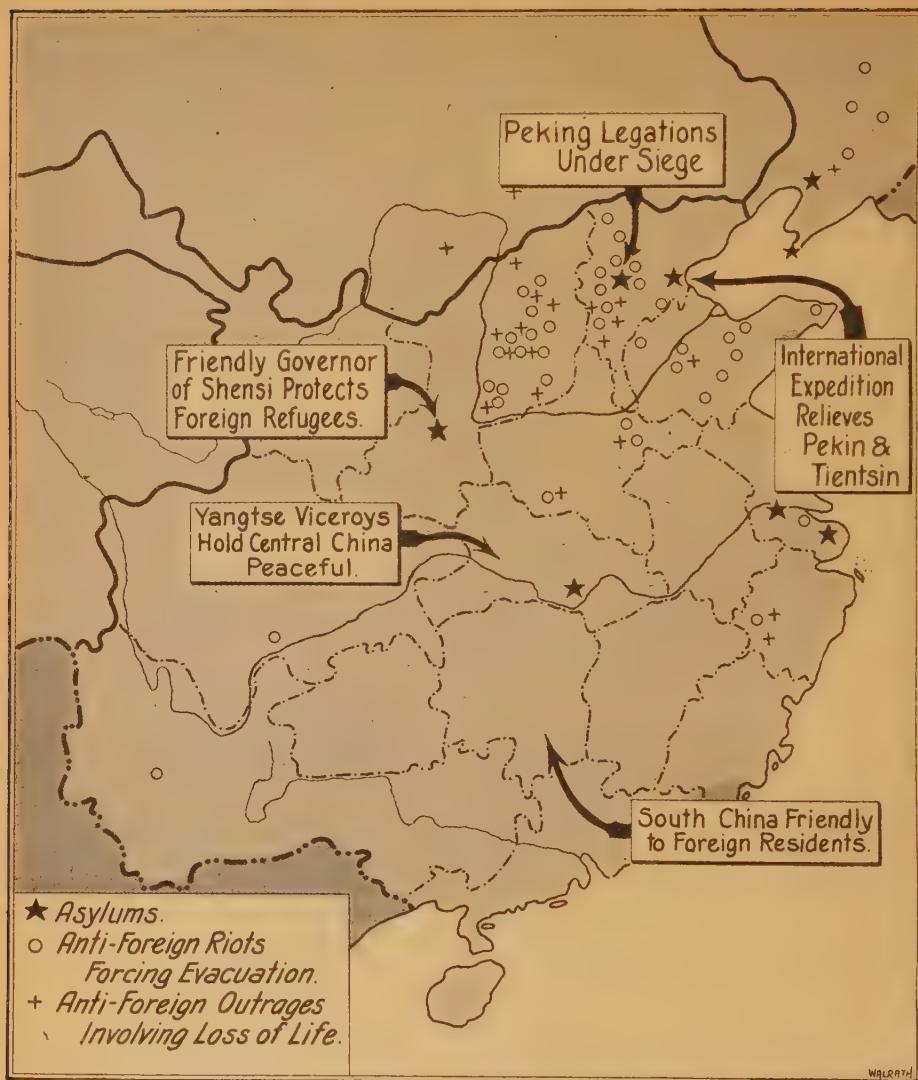
Behind the superficialities of the Chinese crisis now worrying the world's Foreign Offices lies the second challenge of an Oriental civilization to what we may call "Westernization"—the penetration of alien thought and alien ways. Both spiritual and material, these foreign forms of progress have worked veritable revolutions in the lives of the 436,000,000 Asiatics at the cross-roads of their existence today. We are face to face with a conflict of cultures in the widest sense of the word, from the Bible as the way of salvation, to railroads as a mode of locomotion and the factory system, the transplanted standardized Western basis of economic existence.

CHINA'S MOVEMENTS OF PROTEST

Spaced a quarter of a century apart, China's movements of protest offer striking contrasts. The Boxer troubles of 1900 represented a genuine anti-foreign movement. Popular in its mainsprings, it was a blind attempt to uproot the foreigner and his works. To the Chinese at the close of the nineteenth century the missionary and his strange gospel of Christ, upsetting 4,000 years of the world's oldest living civilization, seemed to epitomize all the sinister alien forces of the "outer barbarians." In this terrific effort to oust the foreigner, the material side of the Western

occupation of China in the form of the pioneer railways, mining developments and business activity in general then seemed but incidental to Christianity from the Chinese standpoint. Yet, thanks to the far-sighted views of the Yangtze Viceroy, the friendly Governor of Shensi Province, and the anti-Manchu South Chinese, the Boxer movement was confined to the provinces north of the Yangtze Valley closest to Peking. It ended an abortive local expression of China's apprehensions over the inroads of Westernization, intimately related to the weakening of the Imperial Manchu House and its loss of its "mandate from Heaven." (See Figure 1.)

Turning to the unrest of 1925, the picture takes on a startling difference in its significance to the West and its relations with the East. The Chinese problem, thrust before us by the sanguinary conflict of native and foreign interests from one end of what was the old Middle Kingdom to the other, reflects the difference made by the quarter of a century of contact with the modern world in perhaps the most critical period in the history of mankind. First and foremost, the current troubles are not, like the previous troubles, based upon the lashing of anti-foreign sentiments among the ignorant masses, but to the rising tide of Asiatic nationalism sweeping over the foreigner and his long-standing privileges in this part of the Far East. Nationalism is a far different and a more significant rallying cry than anti-foreignism. Second, its expression is nation-wide; north and south, coast and interior, it represents the emergence of a Chinese nation in world affairs. Third, its strength rests upon the entire range of China's popu-



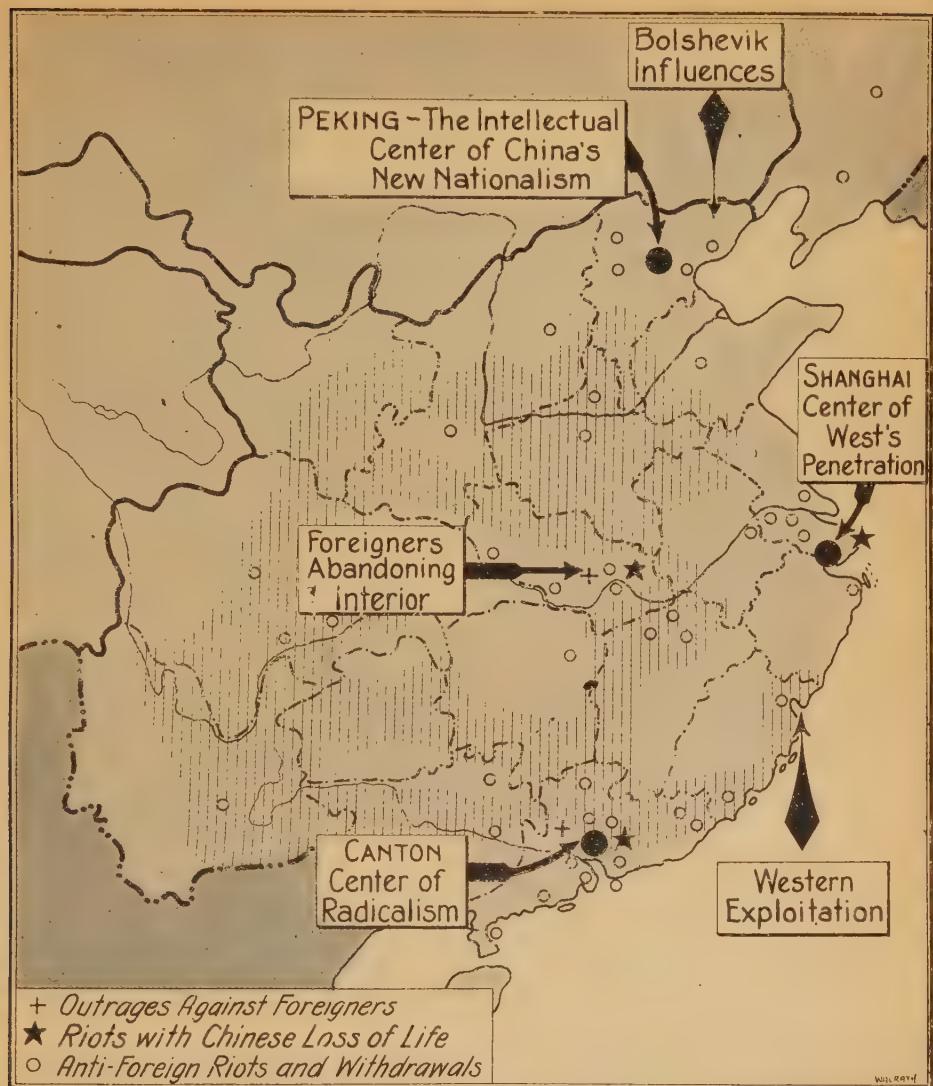
(c) Charles Hodges

Figure 1—Map showing the Boxer troubles of 1900

lation from the laboring millions to the modern-trained intellectual thousands of statesmen, educators and business men—either returned students or the product of native and foreign-established schools in China itself. Fourth, it is challenging for the first time the material side of Westernization as China's greatest peril of the moment. Religion has been pushed into the background by the spectacular economic

changes in the Chinese Republic born of the Western World's own great war.

The new map of China, therefore, has in it perhaps the weightiest problems ever presented the West by the East. China today confronts us with the fruits of Western nationalism in the form of her own counter-movement of nationalistic aspirations of the sort that made a united Italy or forged a German Empire. (Figure 2). At one end of the



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Figure 2—Map showing the unrest in China in 1925

map, there is the new world power in Soviet Russia; at the other, there are the old Western influences of great trading enterprise, migrating capital and cosmopolitan industry set off against the truly vast vested interests of Christianity in missions, schools and social work. Between are the Chinese. No longer do they depend, as in 1900, upon the tea-house intelligence of old Cathay. Several hundred newspapers,

rivaling the yellow press of American cities, have sprung into being since the Chinese Revolution of 1911: 7,000 miles of railway have cut into China's hinterland; a postoffice distributes 75,000,000 copies of newspapers alone every year; the Government telegraphs maintain 926 offices in the twenty-one provinces, Mongolia, and Chinese Turkestan, linked by 55,000 miles of wires; wireless stations, numbering

thirty-two, supplement the telegraphs; and flying squads of students leave Peking one day to agitate in the heart of China the next. China's capital, Peking, has taken on a new meaning as the intellectual pivot of the Chinese renaissance; Canton stands out as the centre of the radicalism that the foreigners have so feared since the Russian upheaval and always has been the home of movements of dissent. Sandwiched in between these Chinese centres, Shanghai, the economic heart of this part of the Far East, stands out as the cosmopolitan foreign city of modern China. Here Western interests in their intellectual, religious, or material aspects face the promise of the Chinese hinterland—Y. M. C. A. and mission boards stand cheek by jowl with the British-American Tobacco Company, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, "Socony" oil and its rival traffickers in what the young Chinese call "the light of Asia."

RELIGIOUS FACTOR IN CHINESE UNREST

Turning to the religious factor in Chinese unrest, we are appraising the culmination of a far-flung movement against the Christian missions. They are being judged today not on the merits of Christianity as a religious philosophy, but on its involvement with the material forces of Westernization. This indictment is the product of China's own movement of the "New Learning," surcharged with a smart rationalism that has all the sophisticated weariness of an old civilization behind it. Yet, admittedly, it has been abetted by slowness of the Church in meeting the dangers in the situation—dangers which called for the development of a great native Christian leadership in both religious and secular matters, the sinking of doctrinal differences, and the attacking of Chinese problems essentially in terms of China's interests.

The physical extent of Christianity in China makes it the most penetrating force of Westernization in the life of the people. There is one native Christian to every 200 inhabitants. The character

of the religious occupation of China has been changing. Prior to the Boxer troubles, it had entrenched itself on the South China Coast, beginning with the first foreign treaties in 1842, spread into the northern provinces and worked into the Yangtze Valley; but following the anti-foreign outbreaks of 1900, the missionary movement extended its occupation of the "interior," where only missionaries (under the treaties between China and the powers providing for the extraterritorial treatment of foreigners) can reside. Though at the beginning of the century there were many spots on the map not touched by Christian evangelism, medical or educational activity, at the present time the ten-mile circle of influence around each Christian worker covers China almost completely until the more sparsely settled Western provinces are reached. Christian missionary work, taking both Protestant and Catholic organizations, now extends over 2,100 residential centres, as distinguished from the more numerous small stations. The China Continuation Committee is the authority for the statement that the Catholics maintains 1,500 such residential centres with both foreign and native priests, while the Protestant denominations account for 693. The latter, however, average twice the number of persons per centre—that is, there are generally six Protestant workers in each centre to the three usually found in the Catholic. (See Figure 3.)

In China, a land where there is a school population of one out of 75 inhabitants, the force of Christian social work looms large. About one out of every twenty-five students is the product of mission schools with an essentially transplanted Western culture. Inescapably, the national viewpoint of the missionary activity itself is impressed upon the native mind; and it must not be forgotten that such educational training represents a revolutionary change in attitude on the part of the student toward Chinese civilization and its social order which four thousand years of history have underwritten. It is this applied

Christianity, ranging from universities and technical institutions down to about 6,000 primary schools, which is now in conflict with the native movements of a strongly national character.

The full force of this situation can best be brought home by asking ourselves what we would do if an army of Buddhists of various sects, gaining the right to propagate their gospel, as a result of treaties forced on us after a bitter war, where they would be under the protection of their own national law, set up between 2,000 and 3,000 centres of religious propaganda; maintained a total of nearly 8,000 educational institutions of all grades and kinds of curricula; inculcated a way of life fundamentally at variance with our social order, and incidentally, though unwillingly, had been pawns in diplomacy and quite unconsciously aided the extension of trade and industry of an alien civilization within our borders. Let us add that, taking the rate of growth of Protestant centres, it meant that 12 per cent. of the total number now in existence were established prior to 1880; that 40 per cent. were set up between 1880 and 1900, when the Boxer movement marked China's first anti-foreign protest; and that 48 per cent. were created in the years 1900-1920, preceding the present unrest.

Given the emergence of a vigorous national sentiment, it is easy to understand how this religious and intellectual background has its place in the causes of China's new protest against Westernization.

PRIMARY CHARACTER OF ECONOMIC FORCES

Yet no observer of the Chinese situation can deny the primary character of the economic forces behind China's temporary movement of protest. This time it is world business forces, not the eternal battle of creeds, which are being attacked by Young China.

Again let us go back twenty-five years. China was then virtually intact from the standpoint of an economic civilization. The Oriental organization of

society within the ancient Middle Kingdom was still self-supporting and self-sufficing; the foreigner, his wares and his customs, had no real place in the existence of the masses. About 6 per cent. of the total population lived in cities of 50,000 or more—in East and South China, 8 or 9 per cent. Life was hard and the margins of existence were small, but the teeming, industrious communities enjoyed the ordered society of an ancient, unchanging civilization with more or less full rice bowls. Only the outskirts of Chinese life were in contact with the civilization of the West.

But today the very fabric of Chinese society has been rent asunder by the material forces marshaled for the assault on backward countries under the aegis of modern business. The industrial penetration of China by the West is as much a fact as the Christian occupation; and it is much more potent than the latter by reason of its utter divorce from any particular nationality or sectarian character. The economic forces engaged in what we look at as the renovation of China are world-wide in scope and universal in method. It is a way of life that makes no difference between a cotton mill, a flour mill, a steel plant or a wireless plant in Lancashire, Fall River, Osaka or Shanghai. Likewise, it carries in its wake everywhere the same problems of labor and capital, of profits and humanitarian considerations, of individual interests and the social good.

These have all come to China, principally since the World War, and far too rapidly for the none too stable and treaty-bound republic to control its destinies. An examination of the map of industrial penetration reveals graphically the economic implications of the Chinese unrest. (Figure 4). The heavy industries upon which an industrial revolution such as China's rests have begun to appear—the coalfields of South Manchuria, North China, and the Yangtze Valley, together with the iron deposits that are the greatest in Eastern Asia, have been opened up to world exploitation. The textile industries, the

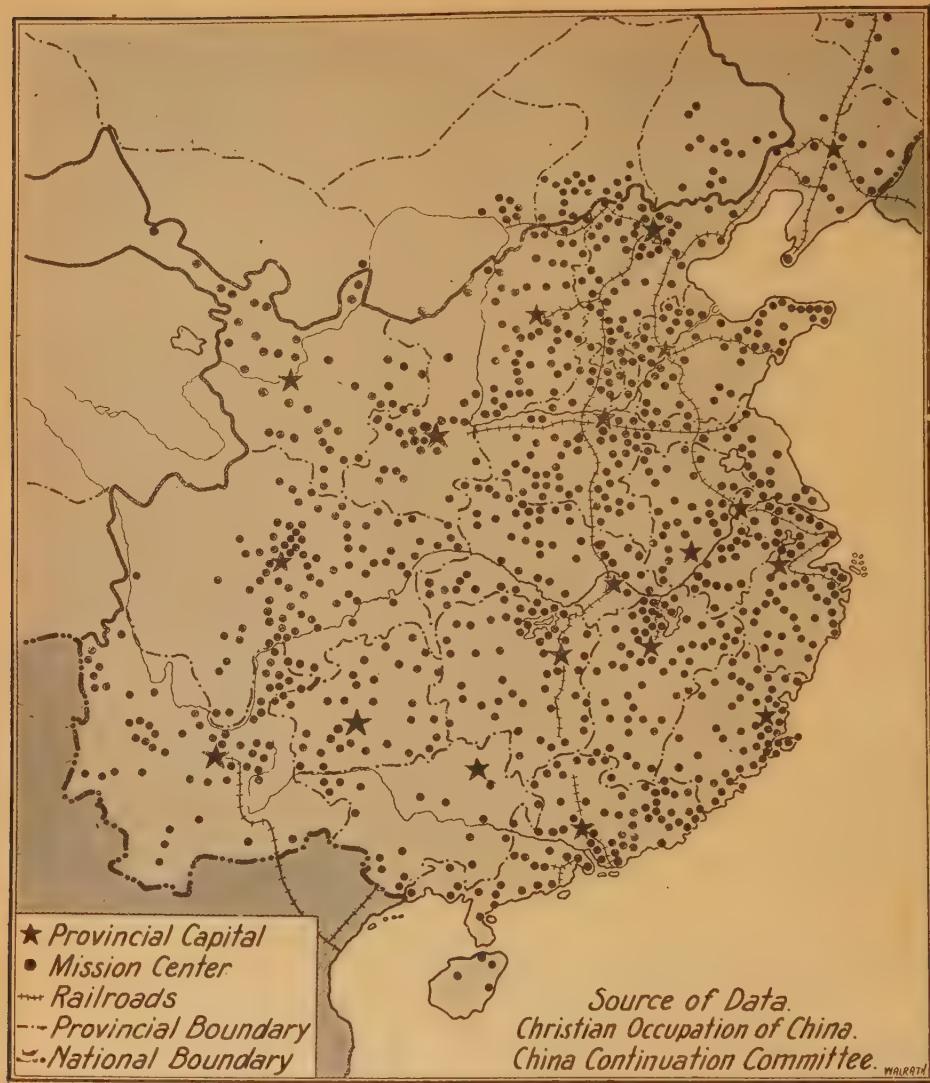


Figure 3—Map illustrating the Christian penetration of China.

forerunners of great industrial changes always seeking new levels of cheap labor for its expansion, have brought the whirr of machines into the lives of Chinese workers in a dozen different cities. Already the Japanese are apprehensive for the future of their own Osaka cotton mills, and part of the trouble arises from their wholesale effort to offset rising labor costs at home with the capitalization of China's man-

power at as cheap terms as possible. Two other factors are even more significant. These are the rise of public utilities, especially marked by the rapid installation of electric light plants; and the development of a Chinese flour milling industry. The electrical industry means the entrenchment of Western ways on a large scale, for in the train of a small interior Chinese city's plant of from fifty to a few hundred kilowatts



(c) Charles Hodges

Figure 4—Map illustrating the industrial penetration of China

capacity come the electric light bulb factories and eventually a list of electrical sundries marking the new conquest of Western products. As for the flour mills, when great plants rivaling our own Middle Western milling interests sprang up in the grain regions of North and Central China, the knell of the old Chinese hand-to-mouth economy was sounded. Western machinery has invaded the most conservative of a peo-

ple's habits; it has established the beginnings of capitalistic enterprise in the daily bread of 400,000,000 Asiatics.

Hence the ordinary wear and tear of the industrial revolution in China has been bitterly accentuated by the conflict of civilizations behind the rise of factories and machine power. It is natural that Chinese nationality should assail the growth of alien economic domination when it is surrounded with a hedge

of treaty provisions tying the hands of China's sovereignty; when this foreign business arrogates to itself privileges it enjoys on no such scale elsewhere in the world; when for every gain to China it raises two problems that it neither aids China's hapless Government in solving nor itself meets in its operations on Chinese soil. Naturally trouble centres about Shanghai. Here the most complete breakdown of Chinese society has been accomplished by Westernization in the business world. Clustered around this New York of China, like satellites around a planet, are half-a-dozen smaller cities such as Wusih and Soochow, likewise transforming themselves and their humanity. A similar development centres about Tien-tsin, the metropolis of North China, whose murky horizon is beginning to blot out the significance of a political shell like Peking in the rise of Chinese "money joss" or millionaires of business. Then 700 miles up the Yangtze, Hankow stands out as another economic storm centre, the Chicago and Pittsburgh of tomorrow's China. These contain the main forces of this material Westernization; but wherever rail or water communication offers the means an industry here and another there mark the extension of industrial outposts into the heart of Chinese life.

INEVITABILITY OF WESTERNIZATION

All this, of course, is inevitable. The capitalistic pattern of human organization, with its material benefits and liabilities, is a predominant factor in world life that no people can escape.

Let us put it this way: Thirty years ago a family of five could live in the coast city of Foochow for \$10 silver a month; today it costs them \$30 to exist. Half that number of years ago in Changsha, a central Chinese city, eggs were sold at two for a copper; now they are two for 9 cents. Wages, in their usual laggardly way, have followed the trend of prices. In the meantime, the circle of wants about a Chinese family has widened. Wherein, ask the Chinese pessimists, is the gain to China in all

this upsetting of the old order, speeding up of life, the breaking down of the family system, the very keystone of Chinese social stability?

Herein lies the real force of the present situation. Indeed, its reality is testified to by the virtual evacuation of the interior of East Asia by the foreigner—industrial manager, business man and missionary. Now from within, the situation in this year of 1925 is not different from that of 1900. In a fundamental sense, the causes of the anti-foreign Boxer troubles and the present unrest of China's new nationalism are the same—the failure of the West to meet the situation its presence has evoked.

Twenty-five years ago this precipitated the assault on the works of Christianity. The cycle was clearly defined: first it was directed against the Catholics, whose insistence on what came close to an assertion of political interests in China's domestic affairs provoked the popular native hatred; then it was turned against all Christian activity; and finally the explosion hit all foreigners. Today the cycle is reversed. Young China is challenging the material interests of the West as the root of the present evil. It began with the Japanese cotton mills, spread to the British, involved other nationalities, and eventually tied up all economic activity. Finally, the outcome of a bitter local labor struggle has been the turning of the Chinese against the spiritual side of Westernization.

Therefore Western interests in the Far East will rise and fall about Westernization—both in its spiritual and material aspects. To the Chinese mind the two are intertwined hopelessly in the invasions of the white man's world life into what was yesterday the Middle Kingdom. Sitting in our easy chairs here in the West 100 years after the industrial revolution, we can be philosophical over the costs of progress and the pains of industrialization. The Chinese millions, however, have no such perspective of comfort achieved. They are asking the West to bestir itself about the fruit of its own handiwork.

China's Battle Against Foreign Control

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

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DURING the last two or three years rumor has been abroad in the Far East that China is on the eve of a great anti-foreign upheaval such as the country has not seen since the Boxer uprising. When on May 30, 1925, a serious collision took place at Shanghai between Chinese demonstrators and the British police, the foreigners in China thought that the dread day had at last come. The calm that has followed five turbulent weeks may be the beginning of the subsidence of the violent agitation, or it may yet prove a lull before a greater storm.

Symptoms of unrest became perceptible last February, when the Chinese workers in a Japanese cotton mill at Shanghai went on strike. In April the strike spread to the Japanese-owned cotton mills at Tsing-tao, the former German city in Shantung. At Tsing-tao the strikers in the latter part of May seized a factory, whereupon the Chinese soldiers ejected the invaders by drastic means, killing and wounding a number of workmen. At Shanghai, too, the strikers on May 15 broke into the factories of the Naigai Cotton Mill Company, a Japanese firm, and destroyed some of the machinery. The Hindu (that is, British) police, in an effort to prevent further violence, killed one of the intruding laborers. This, coupled with the incident at Tsing-tao, intensified the agitation and called forth the great Shanghai demonstration of May 30, when the students and working men paraded through the main thoroughfares of the international settlement distributing anti-foreign handbills and haranguing the crowds as they proceeded. When the British police of the settlement arrested a few of the leading agi-

tators, hundreds of demonstrators, trying to recover them, attempted to enter the police headquarters, whereupon the police fired into the crowd, killing eleven and wounding many. That, in short, was the beginning of the conflagration which at once spread to five or six other cities.

It is a mistake to regard the present agitation as economic in character. The strikes in the Japanese cotton mills simply furnish the occasion for the manifestation of the rankling and pent-up feeling against the foreigners on the part of the Chinese. The Japanese employers, who treat Chinese laborers just as well as, if not better than, other employers, have been made scapegoats, because the Chinese, for various reasons, believe them to be more vulnerable, and therefore more tractable, than other nationals, particularly the British. The agitation is essentially and primarily political, and is directed against all foreign powers which the Chinese think "imperialistic." This is evident from the thirteen demands which the agitators presented to the committee representing six leading powers, who went to Shanghai early in June to investigate and, if possible, solve the difficulty that followed the unfortunate incident of May 30. These demands included abolition of the mixed courts, Chinese participation in the management of the municipality of the Shanghai international settlement, greater freedom of press and speech in the settlement, and the dismissal of E. S. B. Rowe, Secretary of the Municipal Council of the international settlement. Of course, the international committee had no authority to discuss such broad

matters, and the parley was abruptly ended on June 18.

BRITISH ATTITUDE CONCILIATORY

In following the development of events in Shanghai one is impressed by the conciliatory attitude of the British. It is said that the British member of the international committee acquiesced, or was disposed to acquiesce, in the following five of the thirteen demands presented by the agitators: (1) cancellation of the state of emergency in the international settlement; (2) release of all Chinese arrested in connection with the present affair, and restoration to their original state of all educational institutions within the settlement sealed and occupied by the municipal authorities; (3) punishment of police under the officials who are responsible for the killing and wounding of demonstrators; (4) indemnity for the killed and wounded, and for the damages suffered by the laborers, students, merchants and others; and (5) apology for the incident of May 30. Had such demands been made ten or fifteen years ago, mighty Britain would have spurned them without hesitation, for they are nothing short of impeachment of British rule in Shanghai. The settlement, though international in name, is practically controlled by Great Britain. For that country to permit the Chinese students to dictate to her what she should do in the adjustment of events that happened within that settlement would have been inconceivable in the days of her supreme power and glory. The Chinese, quick to read the minds of his opponents, attributes Great Britain's changed attitude to her consciousness of the fact that her position and prestige in the East are not what they were before the World War.

While the Shanghai situation remained in a state of suspense, the United States Government came forward with the proposal that the Washington nine-power treaty relative to China's customs tariff, as well as the Washington resolution on extraterritoriality in China, be carried out without

delay. It is now certain that the representatives of the powers will before long meet at Peking or Shanghai in accordance with the American suggestion. The probable achievements of the coming conferences will go a long way toward alleviating China's ill-feeling against the foreigner, but we must not forget that her grievances are far too deep-seated and serious to be dealt with by such international gatherings in a way satisfactory to her. To explain some of these grievances is the object of this article.

In the park in the International Settlement at Shanghai there is posted a placard prohibiting the Chinese from entering that recreation ground. Originally, and up to a few years ago, this sign barred out "the Chinese and dogs." On the British railway from Hongkong to Canton the first-class Chinese passengers were, as they no doubt are even today, segregated from Europeans and Americans, although it runs through Chinese territory. At Canton the Chinese are not admitted to Shameen, the International Settlement, after sundown. If a Chinese employed by a foreigner resident there wants to go out after dark he is required to carry a lantern, not because its streets have no modern lighting system, but as a precaution, it is said, against the thievery to which the Chinese are addicted!

TREATED AS INFERIORS

These things, apparently trivial in themselves, are of a far-reaching significance, for they are indicative of the mental attitude of the "white man" toward the Chinese. This attitude manifests itself in many and varying ways and forms of discrimination which rasp the nerve of the Chinese of the cultured and well-to-do class. What human being would not rise in rebellion if placed in the same category as the dog? What the Chinese "students" and "agitators" want is, at bottom, the radical alteration of this time-honored attitude, based upon the assumption that the Chinese is subhuman or inferior to Europeans or Americans.

China's grievances against the great powers are many and serious. While some of these may be extravagant and unreasonable, they include claims which should in justice be considered with sympathy. Had the interested powers shown themselves more magnanimous in dealing with such claims, the agitation against foreigners might not have become so acute as at present. Certainly such blazoned social discriminations as we have mentioned seem both unwise and unnecessary. The Chinese gentry and literati, as well as the foreign educated Chinese, are constantly galled by such advertisement by foreigners of their alleged inferiority. You may abuse the ignorant coolie with impunity; you may exploit child labor without offending Chinese susceptibilities; but you cannot openly and constantly insult the wealthy and cultured Chinese without courting trouble, for China, though disorganized for the moment, is yet as proud as Lucifer.

One can well understand why Shanghai has been the hotbed of anti-foreign sentiment. There the Chinese and foreigners come in closer contact than in any other part of China. There the natives and aliens literally rub elbows. Yet their contact goes hardly beyond the realm of business and trade. Politically and socially the foreign community keeps the Chinese at arm's length, or rather keeps entirely aloof from them. How can it be otherwise when the Chinese, regardless of social status, are even forbidden to enter the public park, for the maintenance of which they, as well as the foreign residents, contribute their quota? It is, indeed, a curious spectacle to see Russian refugees, unkempt and ill-clad, freely admitted to the park, while dignified and well-dressed Chinese are ordered to stop at the gates.

There are two foreign settlements at Shanghai. One is the French Settlement, comprising some 358 acres, and the other the International Settlement, with an area of some 5,584 acres. In both the Chinese residents are denied the franchise, though they contribute

large sums to the coffers of the municipal governments. In the French Settlement, however, social discrimination against the Chinese is not so open and general as in the International Settlement. The French park, for instance, raises no barrier against the Chinese. This simple fact is indicative of the general social attitude of the Frenchman toward the natives.

It is against the International Settlement at Shanghai that Chinese resentment is largely directed. Although this settlement is the combination of the original British, American and German concessions, the British element, due to its preponderant political and economic position in the East, has gained a controlling power and influence over it. The population of the settlement is estimated at almost a million, of which more than 700,000 are Chinese. Of the rest the Japanese, numbering some 20,000, constitute the largest racial element. The British do not number more than 3,500. Yet the administration of the settlement is practically in their hands. The Municipal Council, which manages the affairs of the settlement, consists of nine members, of whom five are British. Until a few years ago the Japanese, in spite of their numerical strength and their extensive investments and economic enterprises, were allowed no seat at the council table. After a hard struggle they have managed to place a representative in the Municipal Council. As for the Chinese, they are still without a voice in the administration of the municipality. Not only are they the largest single racial group in the settlement, but they pay 45 per cent. of the taxes levied by the municipal authorities. Naturally, they have for years been demanding the right to elect and to be elected members of the Municipal Council. In 1920 their leaders called mass meetings and urged the Chinese residents not to pay taxes until the "alien masters" of the settlement put an end to their disfranchisement. The municipal authorities responded with a vigorous policy, putting under arrest a number of delinquents and otherwise

applying pressure upon the Chinese. Apparently, this repressive policy proved a success, for the Chinese were made to pay taxes with no concession on the part of the Municipal Council. In reality it aggravated the situation, for the Chinese merely deferred to a more convenient moment the final struggle for the satisfaction of their long-standing grievance.

CHINESE IN SHANGHAI SETTLEMENT

In justice to the foreigners, particularly the British, it must be admitted that the International Settlement was originally established entirely for their own benefit, and not for the Chinese, in the days when conditions in the native city, not merely from the administrative or judicial standpoint, but from the standpoint of public health, were utterly unsuited to their residence. The Chinese, therefore, have no legal or treaty right to live in the settlement. They are allowed to live there by sufferance—by the generosity of the foreigners whose enterprise and whose advanced ideas of city building have made the settlement a livable place for "civilized" peoples.

It was during the Taiping rebellion which, in the middle of the last century devastated the country for hundreds of miles around Shanghai, that the authorities of the foreign settlements at Shanghai, out of genuine sympathy for the helpless refugees, permitted the Chinese to seek protection and safety under the alien flags. During the ten years from 1853 to 1862 thousands upon thousands of Chinese refugees poured into the settlements. When the great civil war at last came to an end the foreign authorities found it impossible and impracticable to eject these Chinese from the settlements. Not only were the refugees allowed to stay, but fresh contingents continued to flock to the alien city. They were lured there by the safety it offered for their lives and property, as well as by modern living conditions such as they had never witnessed in their own cities. Even today this safety cannot be guaranteed

outside the settlements. Naturally, the Chinese of the well-to-do class, and especially Chinese merchants dealing with foreigners, at heart prefer the continued existence of the international settlements, though they may profess a belief in their abolition for fear that any other view, if frankly expressed, might invite the enmity of the students and agitators.

The administration of justice in the foreign settlements at Shanghai and other cities is another problem which has long been disputed between the Chinese and foreigners. To be more specific, it is the question of mixed courts. The principle of the mixed court was first established by the Cheefoo Convention of 1876 with Great Britain, reinforced by the American treaty of 1880, Article IV of which provided:

When controversies arise in the Chinese Empire between citizens of the United States and the subjects of his Imperial Majesty, which need to be examined and decided by the public officers of the two nations, it is agreed between the Governments of the United States and China that such cases shall be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant. The properly authorized official of the plaintiff's nationality shall be freely permitted to attend the trial and shall be treated with the courtesy due to his position. He shall be granted all proper facilities for watching the proceedings in the interest of justice. If he so desires, he shall have the right to present, to examine and to cross-examine witnesses. If he is dissatisfied with the proceedings, he shall be permitted to protest against them in detail. The administered law will be the law of the nationality of the officer trying the case.

The mixed court is so called because it tries mixed cases, that is, cases involving Chinese defendants and foreign plaintiffs. The defendant appearing before the mixed court being always a Chinese, the judge or magistrate is a Chinese, but the decision of the Chinese judge is subject to the examination and approval of a foreign assessor, who is usually of the nationality of the plaintiff. This arrangement was made because the foreign Governments had not enough confidence in the native admin-

istrators of justice to leave mixed cases to their sole decision. In the foreign concessions at Tientsin, Hankow and Canton the mixed court sits at the consulate of the lessee power, and the assessor is the Consul of that power, irrespective of the nationality of the plaintiff. For example, if a case involves a Chinese defendant living, let us say, in the French concession at Tientsin, and a Japanese plaintiff, the Chinese judge hears the case at the French consulate attended by the French, instead of the Japanese, Consul as assessor.

THE MIXED COURT

In the International Settlement at Shanghai the system is somewhat different. There the mixed court sits in its own building. It is presided over by a Chinese magistrate, with two assistant magistrates to relieve him when necessary. The foreign assessors in this court are supplied in rotation by British, American and other consulates. When a person of other nationality than that of the sitting assessor appears as plaintiff, the case is remanded until an assessor of his own nationality can sit. The court tries all civil cases, as well as criminal cases which do not involve capital punishment. In a criminal case, in which the Chinese law inflicts or might inflict the death penalty, the defendant is remitted to the custody and judgment of the Chinese magistrate of the native city of Shanghai.

It must be remembered that the mixed court has no jurisdiction over any case in which the defendant is a foreigner. Under the existing treaties recognizing extraterritoriality in China, such cases are tried by the official, usually the Consul, of the nationality of the defendant. The mixed court concerns itself only with civil cases in which the plaintiff is a foreigner and the defendant a Chinese, as well as with lesser criminal cases in which the defendant is a Chinese. Not infrequently, however, the mixed court claims jurisdiction over cases in which both plaintiff and defendant are Chinese. Indeed, the interested powers insist that all judicial questions

arising within the settlement, whether between Chinese or between Chinese and foreigners, affect its welfare, and that their adjudication must therefore be supervised by foreign assessors. This point has long been a bone of contention between the Chinese and the settlement administration.

The Chinese insist, and rightly, that suits involving natives alone are not mixed cases, and that they should be tried by the Chinese Court and not by the mixed court. They complain, moreover, that the foreign assessor is concerned with the interest of the plaintiff, who is of the same nationality as he, rather than with the impartial administration of justice. They think that mixed court decisions, which can be rendered only with the approval of a foreign assessor, are liable to be unfair to the Chinese defendant. In recent years, especially since the Washington conference, the Chinese students of the radical type have been advocating summary abolition of the mixed courts in all cities as the first step toward the abolition of extraterritoriality. The recent decision of the Shanghai Mixed Court against the instigators of the cotton mill strikes has added to the zeal of these students.

This judicial problem has taken on a fresh significance now that the United States Government has approached the powers with a view to taking steps, in compliance with a resolution adopted at the Washington conference, toward the organization of an international commission for the purpose of inquiring into the practicability of abolishing extraterritorial jurisdiction in China. As conceived by the Washington conference, such an international commission was to have been organized within three months after its adjournment. It was the Chinese Government itself which requested the powers to postpone the meeting of the proposed commission for a year. And when the year had passed the deplorable Lin-cheng incident, in which a number of Europeans and Americans were kidnapped by Shantung bandits for ran-

som, again disconcerted the Chinese Government and alienated the sympathy of the powers. Since then the political chaos in China has been such that the outside world has become skeptical as to the wisdom of any such step as the abolition of extraterritoriality.

Even more important to the Chinese mind than the recovery of judicial autonomy is the restoration of tariff autonomy. The Washington conference agreed to convert the present virtual rate of 5 per cent. ad valorem into an effective 5 per cent. rate by revising the price schedule of imports, thus affording China a new revenue of about \$45,000,000. In addition it agreed to authorize China to levy a surtax of 2.5 per cent. ad valorem "as from such date, for such purposes and subject to such conditions as it [a special international conference] may determine." But the Chinese are not satisfied with such concessions. They want to increase the tariff rate to 12.5 per cent. effective. Moreover, they demand that the control of customs administration be in their own hands, as well as the right to fix the rate of duties without foreign interference. They ignore the fact that under the existing treaties a 12.5 per cent. tariff cannot be imposed unless the Chinese Government is prepared to abolish likin or transit duty most arbitrarily levied by provincial and local functionaries, whose grasping hands the central authorities at Peking are powerless to restrain.

FOREIGN CUSTOMS CONTROL

By the Nanking Treaty of 1842 it was agreed that foreign Consuls should act as agents for the Chinese Government in the collection of duties. But it soon became impossible for the Consuls to discharge this duty efficiently, and a board, consisting of the Intendant of the Circuit and three foreign representatives, was organized in Shanghai to relieve the Consuls of their responsibility. This plan proved unworkable, and in 1854 the Chinese Government created the office of Inspector General of Maritime Customs and ap-

pointed a British subject to it. The real beginning of the present tariff administration, however, dates from 1863, when the Englishman, Sir Robert Hart, assumed charge of the office. In 1889 the Chinese Government agreed that the post of Inspector General be held by a British subject as long as British trade predominated in China.

The staff of the maritime customs includes all nationalities whose countries have trade interests in China. Roughly speaking, the relative number of foreign employes is fixed according to the relative amount of trade of their respective countries. At present the customs service has a staff of 7,500 members, of whom 2,000 are foreigners and the rest Chinese. All receipts from the customs tariff are deposited in foreign banks designated for the purpose by the Bankers' Commission. This commission allots the deposited sum to the payment of annual instalments of the Boxer indemnity and of interest on various foreign loans secured on the customs.

Thus the Chinese have been deprived of control over both the administration and the receipts of the maritime customs. The Chinese "students" and "radicals" look upon this deprivation as an unwarranted encroachment upon the sovereign rights of their country. They demand that more Chinese be appointed to the higher posts in the customs administration so as to pave the way to the complete removal of alien control.

Any excess demand that may be brought forth by China at this time will inevitably bring into discussion her own unfortunate political and military conditions—conditions which she is apparently incapable of improving in the conceivable future. How will China meet the criticisms of the powers? How can she oblige the foreign nations to surrender the protection they have enjoyed, when she is not herself ready to fulfill the duties which they expect her to perform as a member of the family of civilized powers? These are questions which even a sympathetic critic finds it difficult to answer.

Tangier's Plight Under Three-Power Rule

By MAY MOTT-SMITH

ALTHOUGH Tangier (which can be reached by steamer from Gibraltar in three hours) is only a hidden port, it is now the receiving station for the products of Europe which are sent to Morocco. Because of its strategic position, the Zone of Tangier, as it is called, is controlled by an international body under the Statute of Tangier signed in 1922 by the three interested powers, Great Britain, France and Spain. Small as it is in area, the zone is the most important bit of land in Morocco. It is the natural key of the great gateway to the Mediterranean. If, in the present day, when passengers and freight from visiting ships cannot disembark directly at a wharf in its beautiful yet shallow bay but have to be taken ashore in little boats, it is already one of the greatest distributing points of North Africa, what increased business activity and prosperity may not be anticipated, if this unfortified and neutral zone should become a modern port? The powers signatory to the Statute of Tangier have provided for the construction of just such a harbor, but that was two years ago, and nothing has yet been done.

Spain's greatest possessions during the last century lay beyond her own borders, but now that she has lost the Philippines and the West Indies, Morocco is all that is left to her. Her prestige has been gradually weakening until evacuation has become possible. Spain has never been a good colonizer. All too often she has been content merely to take the surface riches without developing the great resources won by conquest. Unfortunately, too, she always grinds a people down, enslaves them instead of lifting them up. The Spaniards of today have forced their

own religion on the Moroccans and antagonized the religious sensibilities of the Moslem Moors. The Riffians (hitherto ununited mountain tribes) have now been brought together by a tardy religious patriotism. Indeed, the Riff tribesmen have always detested the Spaniards, being more inclined to like the French, while placing some confidence in the English. In French Morocco it is not necessary for a Moor, if he become a citizen, also to become a Christian. France in reality has done more for Morocco in a constructive way than either Great Britain or Spain. She has shown a tolerance for and an understanding of things Moorish; has taken pains to preserve their mosques, has rebuilt their markets and schools and has penetrated, with a kindly understanding and deference for its beliefs, the excluding crust of Islamism. On the other hand, Spain, by her narrow bigotry, has continually antagonized the Riffians within her protectorate and has built up between herself and them a wall of mistrust and prejudice.

The French-Moroccan franc is supposed to be the accepted medium of exchange in the zone of Tangier, but the place is afflicted with the circulation of a dozen varieties of money. The poor consumer is a prey to a constant mathematical nightmare while his difficulties in the intricacies of exchange fatten the pockets of those untidy money changers who squat in the market places, their little pigeon-holed boxes in front of them filled with all manner of coins and specie. The Spaniards, pointing to the slight fluctuation of the peseta,

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Photo by May, Mott-Smith

On the way to the Petit Socca, Tangier

treat the French money with scorn and boast that theirs is the only stable money in circulation, contemptuously speaking of the French franc as tin money. Nevertheless, it has purchased and developed more in the land of the Moors than have silver Spanish dollars.

To the Moor nothing is old or new. He lives now as he has lived for centuries—and much more like a gentleman than many an impecunious nobleman of Europe. He is scrupulously clean, exquisite in his fine linens. Spiritually and morally he leads a far better life than many of our modern pleasure-loving men. Even so, to our modern notions, he is cruel to women and somewhat oblique in his conception of honesty. Yet, in his own way, he is responsible and God fearing. He has

again be married she thus becomes, as one would say, a total loss to both parties. It is difficult to discover what becomes of these undesired wives, but if one knows Morocco intimately, one may dwell with pity on them. No wonder the little girl brides are so carefully drilled in every form of diversion for man's pleasure. They are educated in nothing else.

That the high-caste Moor eats well, his generally all-too-rotund proportions bear witness. His soft contours are in startling contrast to the leathery sinews and the scant flesh covering men of the poorer classes, for instance, the pack carriers and other wage-earners. A good Moorish cook concocts as delectable viands as any French chef and is just

deep and affectionate friendships with his equals, treating them with much formality and courtesy. It is true that he has two, three, four or more wives, but when he marries, if he decides to keep them, he must take care of them for the rest of their lives. If his prospective bride is the daughter of parents of respectable standing, he is not allowed to set eyes on her before she comes to his house. He must make a considerable outlay to secure her. He has, however, lacking the recourse to divorce laws, a saving loophole of marital escape. If, after a certain length of time, the bride does not prove valuable or entertaining in his harem, she may be returned home. The groom forfeits the money he has paid for her. As she cannot

about as temperamental and expensive. Although wines and liquors are forbidden, the Moor, like his brother Moslem, the Turk across the dividing sea, has drifted away from the stern precepts of the Koran, and often imbibes native wines or French brandy.

The Moor is a devoted father, tender and loving to his children. For this trait one must forgive somewhat the ignorance which allows him to stunt their growth and dwarf and twist their tender childish muscles with heavy burdens. He has read no statistics upon the evils of child labor. For generations both boys and girls have fetched heavy pots of water from the well. To see a small child staggering along, stepping in the centre of an iron ring which keeps two dripping containers apart, is a common sight in the streets. The girl child in after life finds that these excursions for water have been one of her few opportunities for complete freedom. She is veiled and isolated when she is about 10 years old and frequently marries at 12. At the well she is happy; she chatters and scampers about gayly and plays foolish tricks upon the older ones. The Moorish woman is never taught anything except sewing. She knows less than her blackamoor slave who follows her about on the streets. Her only mental exercise is exchanging stories while lolling on the divans of the harem. In the lower classes she becomes a beast of burden. In either class she grows old at 20. On the street woman's dress is often distinguishable from the masculine draped figure only by her red heelless slippers, since the men wear yellow shoes. Whatever her figure may be underneath, she

gives one the impression of a badly filled ragbag tied well below the waist.

All day long you see women fetching and carrying. One sees a diminutive creature of the poor bearing on her back a burden of clipped branches rolled to the size of a hogshead, the ungainly pack hiding her almost completely from view. She stumbles along with a strained expression of utter weariness and hopelessness. Another little woman may be bent double under a great unwieldy bundle of half-dried grass. They drag these packs up to the edge of the market place, where they squat all day, peddling the stuff. At dusk she leaves the Grand Socco and drags back what remains unsold outside the city walls. It seems incredible that it should have



Photo by May Mott-Smith

A public fountain, Tangier

value enough to warrant such labor. Other women along the narrow alley-ways squat in their rough-spun, creamy, wool draperies against the highly colored walls and cry their wares, which are flat, pancake-shaped loaves of bread or striped green melons. They huddle in groups and scream at each other in untranslatable vowels. There are, it is said, sounds in their language that no foreigner can reproduce. They gossip, make threats and go off into shrill cackles of laughter at some childish joke. The features of most of them are hidden by their hoods and face cloths. Berber women, untrammeled by the yoke of Arabic custom, however, reveal flat-nosed faces with cavernous mouths and

bad teeth. Occasionally the upper lip, chin and neck show vertical lines of green tattooing. One rarely sees a pretty face. The eyes in some cases prove redeeming, but the features are rarely interesting.

The children are all colorful in their vegetable-tinted smocks, petunia, cinnamon and canary. The boys, arrayed as gorgeously as the girls, dart in and out under one's feet. The boys' heads are shaved close, in many cases revealing all too plainly the white, scabby patches of the prevalent scalp infection. One wisp of hair over the top side of one ear is left unshaved. This, like the Mongolian queue, is often braided and elongated with brightly colored threads.

Such a manner of coiffure has been developed by the same superstition that urges the Red Indian to cultivate the scallock. It is their belief that Allah, or the Great Father, may more handily seize the faithful one and drag him up into Heaven.

To go shopping in Tangier one must have courage. If one decides to dispense with the services of the ever-vigilant guides—and they are not easy to circumvent—one must be most resourceful. Most of the bargaining has to be done in sign language. A little Spanish or French is interpolated if you

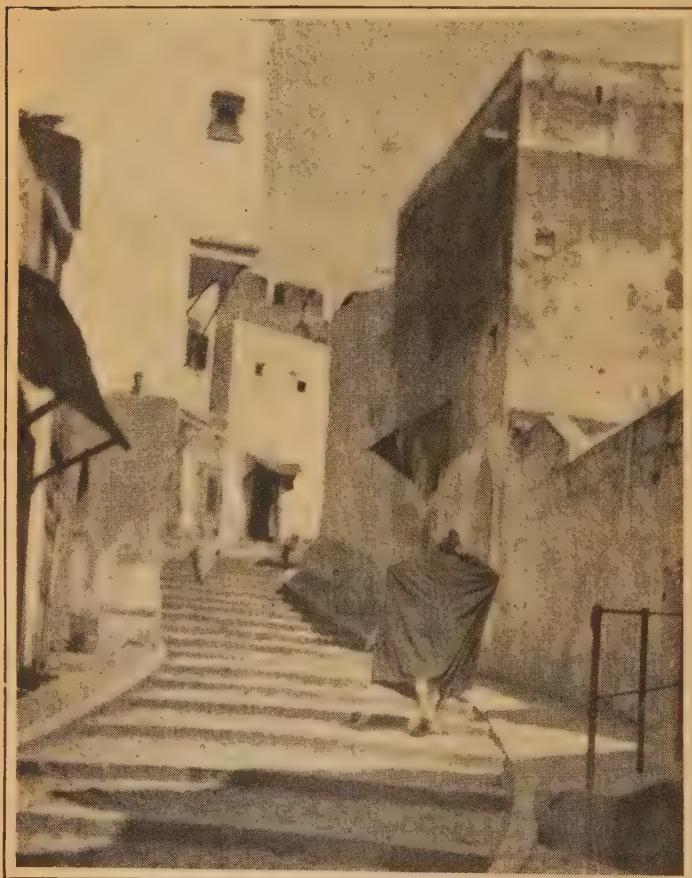


Photo by May Mott-Smith

A street in Tangier

know either of the languages. Perhaps, too, you have acquired a word or two of Arabic. The transaction is also fraught with weird mathematical problems and mental gymnastics, for there are only four kinds of money in circulation. Not one of these changes into the other except in the most complicated process of fractions. There is the French Moroccan franc (supposed to be the standard medium of exchange), the Spanish peseta, Riffian money and British sterling, and in the end you are entirely muddled by your own incorrect and hasty calculations, and succumb to the final, ultimate price demanded by the wily peddler. When not importuned to waste your wealth in the shops, you are appealed to from every side to give your coppers to the swarms of beggars. In Morocco it is no disgrace to be a mendicant. The Moors themselves are very generous to the poor. Possibly this encourages many to persist in the profession. The European newly arrived is appalled at the exhibition of sores and skin eruptions, the maimed members freely displayed, and various monstrosities and perversions of human forms. A boy walking on all fours, arms and legs twisted out of shape, unable to stand upright, is to be seen every day crawling in his unsightly way between the tables of the cafés in the Petit Socco. He thrives on the extravagant giving of the transient tourist. The wandering holy man is another load upon the generosity of a charitable public. Distinguished by his long staff, shaved head and dangling bowl, his scant wool garments flapping in the



Photo by May Mott-Smith

Veiled women in a native bazaar, Tangier

breeze, he wanders along in a sort of trance. Seemingly oblivious to squalor, heat or cold, he strides along screaming in a sort of rhythmic chant verse after verse of his revered Koran.

The rainfall in Morocco follows the same vagaries that characterize the wet seasons in Palestine, Syria, Arizona, California and parts of the South Seas. There are long stretches of withering Summer sunshine. Then follow some weeks of preliminary showers, after which the skies open in earnest, and in consequence tempests hit the hard, unabsorbent soil and run over the parched ground in wasting cataracts. If har-

nessed, these might be gold-begetting freaks of nature, blessings instead of catastrophes. The damming up of this unwelcome flood would develop and make fertile for all the year the barren plains. In Tangier it has been only within two years that water has been piped to the various fountains scattered over the city.

Morocco is the last rich undeveloped district left that is accessible to European markets. It is within ten hours' steaming time from any important Mediterranean port on the north. Surveys and crude maps have been made and claims have been staked out by a few venturesome derelicts, travelers and soldiers of fortune who have braved the discomforts and dangers of travel in a hostile country. To the white man, for many centuries, rich mineral deposits have been known to exist. Petroleum appears at very shallow depths. The Moors, in fact, in some of their interior villages have employed crude oil taken from seepages for lighting their fires. Few of these promising acres, due to the turbulent conditions, have been explored. Below Tetuan, toward the east, the surface croppings of copper are so rich that small shipments of crude ore taken from near the surface have yielded profitable returns. In ancient times these deposits were worked, in a scattered way, by the Romans, and, it is surmised, also by the Phoenicians. Their old tunnels, partly filled in, bear unmistakable evidence of the rich ore taken out in those times.

Tangier today, owing to the general disaffection of the people most concerned with its administration, the incompatibility of the three controlling powers, is in that unique state of a city functioning with no consolidated governing body. As a result, absurd civic complications arise. None of the countries concerned in the neutrality of the zone will take upon itself the onerous duty of being responsible for an individual judgment. There is no last court of appeal to right personal wrongs. If any one is locked up in the Kasba, the military prison, by the local guard, no

Magistrate can be found to give the authority to release the unfortunate and possibly innocent victim. Permits of all sorts may be procured, but they are not backed by any lawful authority. For damage to personal property, for thieving, assault, and even murder, there is no way of procuring adequate redress. Yet the streets are cleaner than in the old days, before and during the war and one may walk about in measurable safety both night and day.

Two years have passed since the three powers signed the statute, and still the dreams of the great port continue as a phantom. The far-seeing plans for an extended sea wall, important docks topped by enormous warehouses, modern coal and oil fueling plants, have progressed little further than some elegant blueprints and signed contracts. The rich hinterland still cries out for development and for cheap transportation methods. Hopeful investors in acres and building lots (the undercurrent of frenzied buying has disproportionately increased the prices of real estate) are taxing all their slender resources to retain their grip upon their possessions on the optimistic theory that they will be able, if the dream comes true, to sell their land at an amazing profit to the thousands of newcomers. In their reasoning they assure themselves that the construction of the port is bound to bring in an army of workmen, engineers, mining experts, contractors, merchants and other business men. When it becomes a fact, steamships from all parts of the world, flying all flags, instead of continuing through the Mediterranean without calling except to drop off a few passengers, may pull alongside the spacious quays to load and reload their cargoes. The dredging of the bay will make it possible for ships of any tonnage to come alongside piers for fueling, instead of, as at present, being obliged to anchor at the mouth of the crescent-shaped harbor. Railways and street car lines will be built, of which there are none now. The Tangier-Fez railway, a bit of which, further south, is already under construc-



Photo by May Mott-Smith

A snake charmer giving an exhibition of his skill for tourists at Tangier

tion, will be completed, thus throwing open to the eager pioneers a land full of agricultural possibilities and make available to the civilized countries another granary of the world. It will provide reasonable transportation, an outlet for now inaccessible mineral riches of oil, copper, lead, antimony and iron.

So breathless, all Tangier waits. Rumors fly on the wind. The daily bulletins of hostilities between the Riffians and the Spaniards cool but do not discourage the hopes of these optimistic plotters. In the Petit Socco, where at the end of the day the scheming sidewalk financiers gather for their aperitif, every stray tag-end of gossip is rolled over the tongue and inventions find a ready ear. At the open-faced cafés, where the chairs come to the edge of the sidewalk and the pedestrians must take to the middle of the road, scattered

groups of khaki-clad men or loiterers in white ducks or softer pongees, exchange among themselves the latest—so-called inside—information. Few women are to be seen. Social Tangier lifts its skirts aside from the feminine person who is remarked there sipping a gin and vermouth even if her vis-à-vis happens to be her husband. Here in this sweltering and stuffy little oblique square the visionaries of fortune plan and calculate. Will these hopeful ones continue in the false belief that they are sitting upon a magic pot of gold underneath a hypothetical rainbow? Will the years continue to pass on and the deadly inertia produced by poisonous politics and the bickerings of jealous peoples still paralyze the plans of the great undertaking? Will Tangier always remain half asleep, inept, a chimera of prospects?

L'illustration
An airplane view of the Isle de la Cité, the island in the River Seine from which in Gallo-Roman times the city of Paris originated



The New Paris Emerging Since the War

By GEORGES LECOMTE

Member of the French Academy

PARIS, whose long and glorious past holds such an appeal to the world's imagination, has undergone ceaseless changes throughout the centuries. It is changing now, day by day. Especially since the World War it has been completely transformed in its outward aspect, in the character of its various quarters, in its centres of pleasure and luxury, in its habits and customs, in its refinements and elegances. And yet, despite these unceasing transformations, there is no large and famous city, still vibrating with mighty memories, that has better preserved in the stones of its old monuments the traces of the successive epochs of its life down through the centuries.

The history of Paris, with which the history of all France has fused and overlapped, is gloriously inscribed upon its bullet-scarred, blackened and pathetic face—ineffaceable traces of the dramatic events that occurred here; and yet Paris today is still filled with a delightful spirit of youth and grace. That ancient and noble face of Paris can tell many a story of the days of the city's past grandeur, even from the earliest times.

MONUMENTS OF OLD PARIS

At the edge of the Boulevard St. Michel, where the youthful students of the various Ecoles (Faculties of the Sorbonne) swarm, in the garden of the beautiful Hotel Cluny, which has become one of our richest museums, are the old stones and the statues of the Thermes (baths) of the Emperor Julian. Near by, certain walls of the church, Saint German-des-Prés, whose architecture is of the Roman type, recall the Gaul of the sixth century.

Begun in the thirteenth century under King Philippe-Auguste, the Palais de Justice mirrors its high and massive pointed towers in the Seine, which has flowed smiling and benign at their feet for fully seven centuries. Some years later the good King Saint Louis built side by side with the airy jewel of architecture called the Sainte-Chapelle, the grim towers of the fortress erected for the punishment of crimes and the incarceration of prisoners. Masses are still held in the mild light of the many colored windows of stained glass. In the nave, which rises in a bizarre sweep, like a vision seen in a dream, the Judges and lawyers of the Court of Paris assemble in their traditional costumes, consisting of black and red gowns, and witness the initiatory mass.

Delicate, mysterious and difficult of access, in its tangled network of old and narrow streets which have undergone little change in the course of centuries, stands the charming Church of Saint Severin where, during his sojourn in Paris, Dante came to pray; and whose beauty has been eloquently described by the Franco-Belgian Roman Catholic writer, J. K. Huysmans. This church also eloquently recalls the Middle Ages.

The same period is brought before the observer's dreamy eyes by the great and matchless Cathedral of Notre Dame, erected at the beginning of the fourteenth century; also by the lofty splen-

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dor of the Saint Jacques tower, which dates from the same period. The Bastille was also built toward the end of the fourteenth century. This imposing fortress, swept away by the storm of revolution, became only a great historical memory 136 years ago. The second Louvre, that of Philippe-le-Bel, dates from the time of the Bastille, but splendidly amplified and completed, it has happily survived all revolutions.

Around these churches and monuments of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries one must imaginatively reconstruct the narrow, swarming streets, with their dark shops crushed under the projecting tiers of stories which cut off practically all view of the sky, and which formed virtually a solid mass above the passers-by, horses, mules and tangled lines of carts. There was no sidewalk and the gutter flowed muddily over the pointed paving stones. Contemporary writers complained of the congestion of Paris. Such complaints constantly recur throughout the history of Paris.

All the life of Paris was then concentrated between the arms of the Seine in the Ile de la Cité. It was, however, beginning to spread out on the opposite banks, utilizing bridges covered, but built of wood. To relieve the congestion and facilitate the outflow of the crowded population toward more open districts, the rue Saint Martin, prolonged on the left bank by the rue Saint Jacques, was built. Both streets soon became covered with houses. Running in the same direction opens the rue Saint Denis, continued by the rue de la Harpe and other thoroughfares in the vicinity of the boulevard Saint Michel of today.

If the Tuilleries and the Hotel de Ville had not been burned down by the Commune in 1871, the Renaissance would have left a deeper impression on the face of Paris. The Louvre, at least, owes a great deal to Henri II, Henri III and Henri IV. It was during the reign of Henri IV that the charming Place des Vosges (formerly called Place Royale) was begun. A beautiful sym-

phony of gray and rose, of noble outlines, it stands on the very spot where Henri II was killed during the famous tournament.

If Henry IV constructed in the Louvre the Galerie du Bord de l'Eau and completed the Tuilleries begun under Catherine de Medicis, if the Palais du Luxembourg was built by Marie de Medicis, it is to Henri IV and to Louis XIII that we owe the majority of the beautiful mansions which adorn the Marais quarter, in former days aristocratic and pretentious, but today almost completely democratized and filled with stores, studios, and industrial and commercial buildings. Richelieu bequeathed to us the Palais de l'Institut.

ARCHITECTURE UNDER SUCCESSIVE RULERS

Louis XIV having transplanted his court to Versailles, it is, above all, in this suburban city, around the chateau, that the beautiful mansions of the aristocrats were constructed during his reign. But Paris is stamped with his handiwork in the majestic Hotel des Invalides, with the monumental Porte Saint Martin and Porte Saint Denis, the Place des Victoires and the Place Vendôme.

The noble grace of the architecture in vogue under Louis XV is brilliantly displayed in Paris in the two palaces of Gabriel, the Ministry of the Navy and the Garde-Meuble, which balance one another so harmoniously on the Place de la Concorde, known as the Place Louis XV. before the Revolution; in the Palais Bourbon which faces it and the dignified little jewel of the Ecole Militaire. At the same time abandoning Versailles, where they felt themselves too much confined, the noble families erected fine mansions in the Faubourg Saint Germain, where they have survived to the present; this street was later completed by magnificent houses of the style of Louis XVI. It was during the reign of this King that the famous Church of the Madeleine was begun; and during the same period the architect Louis constructed the Théâtre Français.



The Cathedral of Notre Dame (founded in 1163 and completed about 1240), the most important church in Paris

Napoleon I continued the Madeleine, which Vignon was later to finish under King Louis XVIII. The grandeur of the revolutionary and Napoleonic epics was recorded on the ancient physiognomy of Paris with the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile and that of the Carrousel. It was under the reign of Napoleon that the quarters of the Chaussée d'Antin and the Faubourg Saint Honoré were constructed. The "newly rich" of finance, industry and commerce took up their residence in these new sections. The Rue de Rivoli and its arcades date from the same period.

King Louis Philippe reconstructed the Tuileries. Emperor Napoleon III connected it with the Louvre by the two great wings which frame the square and the gardens of the Carrousel. He opened large central thoroughfares, such as the Boulevard Haussmann and those of Strasbourg and Sébastopol. It was under the

third republic, in 1875, that the Theatre de l'Odéon and its avenue, begun during the second empire, were completed and inaugurated. The Trocadéro was erected on the occasion of the Universal Exposition in 1878. The rue Réamur and the Boulevard Raspail were the two last streets pierced in the labyrinth of old Parisian streets.

BEFORE AND SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The great war of 1914-18 and the ensuing financial complications interrupted this perpetual process of renovation and reconstruction which, during the thirty years preceding, had been manifested by the viaducts and tunnels of the Métropolitain (the subway system of Paris), the reconstruction of the old railway station of Saint Lazare, the modernization of the Gare de Lyon, the erection of the Gare d'Orsay, connected by an underground passage to the Austerlitz station, the vast blocks of real estate

constantly increased, the cupolas and luminous facades of the great buildings which tended to dislodge more and more the surrounding houses. All these changes affected the physiognomy of Paris before the war.

It is now my purpose to show the true face of Paris as it emerged after the wounds, the anguish and the sacrifices of the frightful storm recorded in history as the World War.

In what respects does the Paris of today differ from the Paris over whose brilliancy and grace, in 1914, the spectre of war suddenly cast its blood-red shadow? Life in Paris at that time was certainly very animated and very intense. Strangers there had the impression of a whirlwind sweeping them away with it. The atmosphere was feverish and intoxicating. Side by side with the sober, serious, fruitful work which transient visitors do not perceive and the existence of which, alas, they often do not even suspect, luxury and pleasure presented their seductions. But however great the congestion and movement, they were not as intense and tumultuous as they are today. There still existed hidden refuges for silence and meditation. Despite the hurlyburly of the streets one could still saunter and muse. Pleasure was confined to its own precincts.

Between the elegance of modest people of the middle class who knew how to dress on nothing and the elegance of fashionable women there did not intervene that chasm which has gradually been dug by the madness of luxury and the influx of rich and showy women from abroad. Coming to this abode of beauty and pleasure, they contributed their part to make this luxury fashionable and to diffuse the desire for it. Paris before the war was more simple in its grace. The smiling and refined good humor which prevailed among our people now seems to be developing to some extent into hardness and nervous intensity. The real charm of Paris has nothing in common with the elegance of cosmopolitan society. It is made up of wit, good taste and good humor. It

consists of the art of creating beauty with modest resources. One must admire the more the ingenuity of the women and young girls who, confronted by this ostentatious, showy and ruinous luxury, maintain their traditions. They are still in the majority. In this whirlwind of insolent display they deserve the highest praise for maintaining, in this noisy Paris of 1925, the city's affable and simple charm of pre-war days. Amid this splendid glitter it is not they who are best and soonest seen. They must be sought for in their natural habitat, not in the places of pleasure, hotels and fashionable restaurants, but in their homes, which they gladden and make radiant with their smile, in quiet and discreet social gatherings and festivities where the face of the true France shines.

However different the streets of Paris may be from what they were before the war, they still have today an elegance, a good humor, a grace, a witty and mischievous fancy, an unexpected charm which habitués of other capitals declare they have never found elsewhere than in Paris. But now and henceforth the ability to saunter and idle, which until recently remained intact, is no longer possible; or at least possible only amidst mad and feverish tumult and feverish activity; and it can be prolonged at night only amidst a bewildering fairy-land of gleaming lights.

CONGESTION OF TRAFFIC IN STREETS

In the principal thoroughfares traffic is like an ever-renewed and gigantic wave. The autobuses, which have grown formidably in number, speed from every direction amidst the tangle of private cars and taxis which have increased to fantastic proportions. What vigilance, what seizures of the favorable moment, what decision and coolness are necessary to cross the narrowest street!

Above these swarming throngs and hurly-burly, this deep, continuous murmur of waves, which collide, mingle and recede from one another, imagine the winking and blinking gleam of fantastic and many-colored lights from the electric signs, flaming from top to bottom

of the houses and stores. Their letters light up and go out alternately. Along the fronts of the houses, the illumination flames and quivers as though swept by a stormy wind. Dazzling from roof to basement, colossal shops clothed in an enormous luminous sign inscribing their splendors in letters of fire on the eyes and on the minds of the passerby, seem to bar the streets off as with massive blocks of radiant light, in contrast with which the lights of the shop windows seem dim and mild.

Toward the end of the afternoon, when the stores are closed, darkness reigns along the sidewalks. Only those blue and purple lights, those gleaming, dancing, quivering radiances, that gigantic typography in letters of fire, live above that darkness. This is one of the most strikingly impressive transformations of Paris. Ten years before the war, the law fixing the length of the working day at eight hours had hastened the daily closing hours of the shops. Most of them, however, kept their windows lighted behind the metallic lace-work of their light iron shutters. Simi-

larly on the large boulevards, many famous restaurants and fashionable cafés pierced with their lights the inky darkness of the shadow wrapped house-fronts. But most of these places have disappeared. Gone forever are the Café Anglais, the Maison Dorée, the Durand restaurant near the Church of the Madeleine. Even the Taverne Pousset has vanished. Others have moved to more remote districts. How many fine and celebrated shops have removed the treasures and novelties of their windows to other parts of the city!

The banks and cinemas have taken their place and pushed forward everywhere. We should not complain too much of the innumerable cinemas, for if they have driven out interesting and charming shops, delightful to the idlers of Paris and, in fact, of the whole world, they contribute to the brilliant animation of Paris at night, when they open up great canyons of light amidst the masses of dark buildings on either side.

Despite these changes in the various aspects of Paris, the city's exterior aspect has, on the whole, not been altered



Wide World Photos

The Place de l'Opéra, with the Opéra to the right of the photograph

to any lamentable extent. It has changed into showiness, fairylike and fantastic grandeur of illumination, intensity of life and increased traffic what it has lost of its gracious affability and intimate, idling and gayly mischievous spirit. It is good, therefore, to live among its old monuments which stand out, marvelous in their historic associations and beauty, against the moving verdure of its trees.

BEAUTY OF FRENCH CAPITAL REMAINS

The nucleus of the vast modern Paris, the "Cité," has no less charm than it had in the days of old amid the music of the Seine, with its quays permeated with delightful and pleasant memories, and it is always a wonderful and noble spectacle which promenaders on the Pont Royal or the Pont de la Concorde, for instance, may behold and delight in. The roofs of the Louvre, the cupola of the Institut, the airy lace work of the Tour St. Jacques and the almost immaterial upward sweep of the Sainte Chapelle, the high sentry boxes of stone of the Conciergerie, the majestic and delicate jewel of Notre Dame form, for the prow of that shiplike island which we call the Cité—"fluctuat nec mergitur"—a most splendid frame for all these most picturesque buildings. And when, from the centre of the Place de la Concorde, under the soothing impression given to the mind by the harmonious balance of the masterpieces of Gabriel and the severe colonnade of the Palais Bourbon, one looks alternately at the perspective of the Champs Elysées arising in such a wide sweep up to the Arc de Triomphe and at the splendid profile of the Louvre beyond the trees, lawns and buildings of the Tuilleries and the waters of their spurting foun'tains, one feels that one has the whole splendor of Paris before one's eyes.

Furthermore, however formidable and feverish along the principal thoroughfares of Paris may be the circulation of passers-by, the traffic of carriages, autobuses and street cars between the houses, which for our taste exhibit too many banks and cinémas,

too many business offices, without the picturesqueness and the beauty of any shop windows, the streets of Paris nevertheless preserve the charm of their alert, brilliant and immaterial grace. They never bore one. One always finds in them surprises, pleasure, charm, both for the eyes and for the mind, and also cause for emotion and even admiration. In this bewildering, fairy-like atmosphere of the modern Paris, through the constant noise and flood of traffic, the amusing gavroche (street urchin) of the streets of Paris maintains his traditional mocking attitude, and his vernacular brought up to date by the idioms and vocabulary which arose during the war and the new habits resulting from the inventions which constantly transform more and more our lives. The midnette who works in dressmakers' establishments, fashion shops, shops dealing with feathers and flowers, workshops and larger stores, has lost neither her alertness nor her chatter nor her bird-like, laughing, babbling grace, though these qualities may have been dimmed to some extent by the insolent splendor of increasing luxuries.

The people of Paris always salute respectfully funeral processions or make the sign of the cross as they go by. It is with emotion that, in spite of the Parisian's desire for peace and his ceaseless aspiration for human fraternity, he greets the flag of the passing regiment because of the glorious past and the heroism and sacrifices which they represent. Similarly, despite the violence of yesterday and the hardships of life today the people of Paris remain polite, affable, gay, obliging, full of amusing and picturesque spirit and good-humored irony. There has been no change in all these traits. There is chivalry among them, also: one may say that in Paris, women, children and old men are all automatically beneath the perpetual and spontaneous protection of the whole population.

The exterior transformation of Paris is thus greater than might appear at first glance. On the large boulevards, in the streets which surround the Opéra and in



Wide World Photos

The Place de l'Etoile, in the centre of which is the Arc de Triomphe, the largest triumphal arch in the world, being 162 feet high and 147 feet wide. From here there radiate in all directions twelve avenues, the chief of which is the fashionable Champs Elysées

the celebrated Avenue of that name, offices and banks have to some extent substituted their austere aspect for the agreeable animation of charming luxury shops. These latter, however, have removed their brilliant gayety to neighborhoods where up to recent years they rarely showed themselves. This also is one of the characteristics of post-war Paris. By a phenomenon which cannot be explained, it is toward the west that the aristocracy and elegance of the great capitals of Europe emigrate.

FASHION MIGRATING TO WEST

Paris has not escaped the mysterious law which seems to control the progress of modern capitals. Before the war, how many sumptuous stores and fashionable dressmakers moved to the Avenue of the Champs Elysées where, twenty years ago, there was no shop in existence, to

the upper Faubourg St. Honoré, to the Rue La Boétie and to all the aristocratic thoroughfares in that vicinity. Nevertheless one saw in this westward movement simply a possible and perhaps premature beginning of future developments. But since the war this migration has greatly increased and is growing more noticeable every day. Let us consider the Rue Laffitte, formerly the headquarters and centre for the picture trade, nearly deserted by its merchants and deprived of its most famous houses. Artists are no longer seen in the late afternoons prowling about shaven or bearded, wearing felt hats with wide brims and surrounding innumerable exhibitions of pictures. Aside from one or two celebrated galleries around which there is an incessant hum of curiosity, most of these picture stores, which had been grouped between the Rue Drouot

and the Madeleine, have now been magnificently installed further toward the west. Shops situated on the upper part of the Boulevard Malesherbes and the Rue La Boétie, the Champs Elysées, the Rue Montaigne, and the Faubourg St. Honoré, offer to the promenaders today antique treasures, curiosities, useless trifles, laces, furs, jewels; there are large dressmaking and fashion establishments, stores offering high-class automobiles for sale, branches of fashionable confiseries, pastry shops and numerous bookstores for aristocratic lovers of books. Highly respected photographers have left the vicinity of the Opéra in the St. Lazare section to install their studios in the Etoile section. A stranger who has not been back to Paris for fifteen or twenty years cannot fail to be impressed by this transformation.

Since I have just spoken of the Etoile, I may at this point bring out one of the new and most moving aspects of the Paris of today. The idea was conceived—an idea of sublime grandeur, piety, gratitude and poetry—to build beneath the Arc de Triomphe a tomb in which the unknown French soldier should repose, a nameless symbol of abnegation, symbol of all those obscure sacrifices which grim and terrible war has brought before our eyes. I have seen the coffin being lowered down into this tomb wrapped in the blue, white and red flag, bearing upon it the ribbon of our Legion of Honor, of our Military Medal and of our War Cross and containing the remains of that poor little Frenchman who was so courageous and such a martyr; and I bowed before it and prayed before his coffin. It was for me a day never to be forgotten. No tomb could be more glorious, or in a better place than in the shadow of the gigantic pillars of the high, overarching Arc de Triomphe. The body is sorrowfully linked with the epoch of the French Revolution of the Empire written in flaming words upon the pages of yesterday, over which we still shudder and weep today. That body is not alone in the inaccessible shadow of a remote tomb.

It is above all Paris, and the setting sun puts about it a halo of glory. When night has come, a flame of the memory which every one sees, which compels every one to take thought and to meditate and to recall, palpitates in the breeze. The ceaseless procession of the street winds about this dead boy, great though nameless; from every corner of Paris pilgrims fare toward the remains of this symbolic martyr. And how many passersby turn around a moment on their way, cross the circle amid the rolling vehicles to come and meditate amid the sheaves of flowers constantly renewed which strew the glorious pavement.

UNKNOWN SOLDIER'S TOMB A SHRINE

In this open-air sanctuary a new cult has been organized. To say nothing of continual individual homage, not a day passes without some delegation approaching the never-extinguished flame of the unseen altar to greet before the body of this dead man the memory of so many of our dead. Nor should one forget that every day even during vacation period, amid the rolling of drums prescribed by custom and never omitted, the children of every school in Paris come in groups with one of their teachers to bring flowers and place them on this tomb which contains the gigantic sacrifice of France. This is one of the newest aspects of the face of Paris, which still keeps the scars of its wounds on certain of its churches, public buildings and many fronts of private houses still bearing the traces of shell shot.

The moral transformations which we observe as the result of the war and its consequences are the insecurity and agitation which it has left in us. They are correlated with the material changes of which I have just spoken. I pointed out the exterior aspects of this new cult, which at every hour of the day, freely, spontaneously, with grave emotion, hat in hand, is celebrated beneath the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile. This is but one of the many signs of the state of mind created in very many inhabitants of Paris by the suffering, the anguish

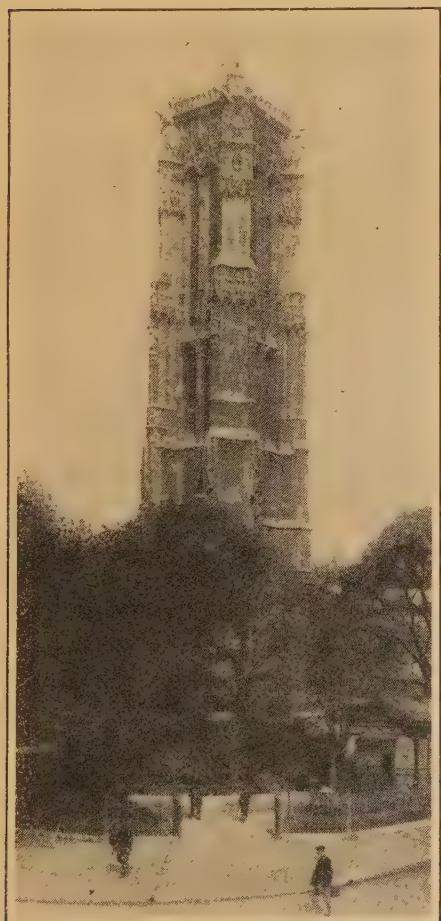
and the sorrows of war. During this long and cruel torture they have grown accustomed to live in their own homes, beneath the family lamp, more withdrawn from the world than ever before. They have grown disused to going out often in the evening on the quest for pleasure. Reading and study have become their almost exclusive distraction. During the uncertainties of war they have also grown accustomed to reflecting more on the eternal problem of man's origin and his destiny. Often, also, having in their heaviest hours sought and found refuge in prayer, they

have maintained an inspiring discipline of religious meditation irrespective of the denomination to which they belong. It is not, I beg the reader to believe, the Parisians of this type who are found in the dancing halls which became so fashionable immediately after the war and the number of which is constantly decreasing, or in the picturesque night-life resorts or other places of enjoyment which are everywhere for the use of wealthy foreigners traveling for pleasure.

A NEW MOOD OF GRAVITY

It is not only the memory of the emotions and the griefs of war which have lead so many Parisians toward a graver and more studious life. They think also of the ruins of France and the streams of blood which were shed and the innumerable sacrifices of young men to which they consented. They realize what a vast and fruitful work is imposed on the whole French people to reconstruct all these ruins, to make good as far as possible these frightful losses. They are also worried over the uncertainties of the present hour and the all too obvious perils of the future. France had stoically endured all her sufferings, supported by the hope that this bloody war would at least for a long time be the last war, and that she could now fulfill her dearest desire to work henceforth in peace without having to fear any new attacks.

And now this hope, so natural for a people who have suffered and bled so much, has remained unfulfilled. France has no security for the future. The Allies were not able to give to the world the peace which it so vitally needs. This explains in many Parisians, as well as in the majority of French men and French women in every section of the country, the gravity of mood, the meditative tendency, the simplicity of a studious and hard-working life which one sees everywhere and which are very noteworthy. It is essential to point out this psychological tendency to strangers who, despite their well-meaning and benevolent attitude, might not discover



The Tour Saint-Jacques. This beautiful tower is all that remains of the Church of Jacques de la Boucherie, which had to be demolished to make way for the Rue de Rivoli

it immediately, for these sober and severe lives are not lived either in the street or in the places of pleasure.

Another characteristic of actual Paris is its extreme intellectual curiosity, its need to learn and to know, and this trait should be brought into correlation with the traits that I have just pointed out. Though it does not have quite the same origin, it may be observed also in Parisians who did not receive from the war that deep moral shock experienced by others and who are not so obsessed and solicitous about the dangers of the future. This tendency, quite widely spread, is visible in various social circles and in people of all beliefs and all political opinions; and it does honor to our country.

INTENSE INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY

France wishes to learn. Never before have so many books, periodicals and papers been published. Never have so many public lectures been held in Paris and the provinces, serious lectures, seriously followed and absorbed. There is an ardent thirst for new ideas, for research and discoveries. They are discussed and explanations are demanded. People show unappeasable curiosity about studies and theories abroad. All forms of art, even the boldest and most disconcerting, are examined with the sincere desire to understand them. Exhibitions of pictures, of sculpture, of engravings, of objects of modern artistry were never so numerous. This intellectual curiosity shows itself in every domain. It is as if men and women in France wished to find compensation for the nightmare of violence under whose oppressive shadow we lived all too long. For more than five years all our energies were necessarily turned toward physical and brutal activity. After this fierce retrogression intellectual life has been reborn, filled with new joy, new ardor.

This ardor would be more fertile in results, it may be admitted, were it not accompanied by the worrisome uncertainties of life and were not the economic conditions resulting from war too unfavorable for creative work. Think of the

burden imposed on a Parisian by the crushingly high cost of living and which he must meet before he is able to devote himself to disinterested and altruistic research, and bring forth the work which he has conceived. Staggering under the weight of taxes, crushed by the prices of food, lodging and clothing, which cost four times more than they did before the war, a writer or artist, or any man of any liberal profession, is forced to do four times as much work as before. Generally speaking, the remuneration for labor has by no means risen proportionately to the cost of living. Can one be surprised to see that certain creative workers, forced to produce more in the same time, have less leisure to bring forth powerful, rich and carefully elaborated works and to secure the relaxation and restimulation so necessary for the creation of new, vital and beautiful works in the future? Happily there are many men of stoical tendency who, despite all privations and obstacles, find the strength and abnegation required to produce such monumental creations in their faith in themselves, in their own ideas, in the cult of science, literature and art.

More than ever before time in Paris is money. In the fierce industrial and commercial struggle of today the business world lives the same agitated and feverish life. Every one is terribly busy. People scurry hither and thither, each trying to outdistance his competitors. The necessity for winning success quickly and attaining the maximum of enjoyment; the thirst for luxury, for refined elegance and costly pleasures which, in the case of a large number of our contemporaries, are one of the most striking features of our epoch, lead to many hasty efforts and to ill-considered steps. All this, to a great extent, complicates the intense and feverish movement of modern Paris. People want to be and must be everywhere at one time.

Add to the race for financial success the race for pleasure. If war, its tragedies, its ruins, the economic consequences of a delusive peace, if the anguish uncertainty of what lies ahead have given to many Parisians a keener

taste for meditation and study, for deep intellectual and moral emotions, in how many cases have the same causes produced diametrically opposite results! This is also one of the aspects of the face of Paris, and one would be false to the truth of things if one did not record it.

"INSANE ENJOYERS" NOT TRUE PARIS

Among all peoples, the horrors and disequilibriums produced by war have demoralized many peoples. Violence, life lived too long a time beyond the pale of normal conditions, which are order, peace, respect for human beings and continuous effort, have disaccustomed them to quiet and regular labor. The pay they receive seems to them ridiculous compared with the immense and swift gains of those innumerable war profiteers who stand insolently on their pyramids of gold and whose example is much more demoralizing than war; for war, at least, is ennobled by patriotic feeling, by heroism and sacrifice.

Weary of long discipline, of an austere, harsh and gloomy existence, impatient to take their revenge, as it were, men and women who are in this state of mind think only of making money without labor, of unrestrained and immediate enjoyment. Despising work, they reduce it to a minimum. Despising the humble earning of their daily bread and modest joys, they dream only of winning vast sums of money on the turning of the dice and other forms of gambling. With the money they win, they wish only to gorge themselves, to run about in search of pleasure and diversion. Especially since the war, such insane enjoyers have appeared in many countries of the world. Add to this class of people, whose nerves are on edge and always quivering, the crack-brained class of those who have no confidence in the future. The peace (they say) is uncertain. The exchange is paradoxically unfavorable to France despite her economic situation, which is not bad and which, from the viewpoint of good logic, should lead to financial results of a

wholly different nature. They are worried. They do not know what troubles the future may have in store. "What's the good of saving?" they ask.

Foolish weak-brained people of this type are happily in the minority in France. But these few thousands of restless people who in the resorts of pleasure, in the little theatres of Montmartre or elsewhere, in the night cafés, seek to escape from themselves, mingle with passing strangers for whose amusement these establishments abound. They contribute their share to giving Paris an exterior aspect which is far from being the reflection of its true soul, but one which is accepted by those who know only its superficial aspects.

Paris, indeed, is now being progressively more and more invaded by foreigners. Some of these come to live for some time to work, or study or look after their affairs; others come to rest amid its charms and allurements, or to seek diversion. More than ever people of every country make Paris their place of meeting; and this is also one of the characteristics of the Paris of today.

Capital of beauty, capital of the spirit, with its refinements of elegance, of luxury and good taste, Paris is pre-eminently a city where one may live and be happy. It is also becoming more and more a vast cross roads of pleasure where travelers from every country meet. It is for them that so many noisy and showy places unknown to real Parisians turn on their flaming lights.

This is not the real Paris. The real Paris is in its quiet, honest, hardworking homes, and one must seek it there. Elsewhere one cannot even glimpse it, for the curtains are drawn and the shutters closed on France's family life. And the transient visitor can have no idea of our laborious existence unless he take note of the continuous appearance of creative work in Paris. How could we create all that is produced in Paris in all domains of science, literature, art and theoretical and practical inventions, if the majority of Parisians did not live removed from the wild dance of that other life of Paris described above?

Britain's Royal Envoy in South America

By WOODBINE PARISH

Lieutenant-Colonel, British Army; Chairman of the Argentine Club, London; director of several Anglo-Argentine railway and other companies

THE visit of the Prince of Wales to South America is of great historic and political interest in the light of past and present relations between Great Britain and Latin America. Moreover, to me personally, there is an added and peculiar interest in the event—an interest derived from the fact that I was born in Buenos Aires and am at once a British subject and a citizen of the Argentine Republic. My father, too, was for many years British Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires in the country with whose fortunes my family have so long maintained an intimate association. Perhaps I may be permitted to recall at least the origin of that association. It has a historic interest for North Americans because, to a very large extent, the work which my grandfather, Sir Woodbine Parish, accomplished in 1825, when he negotiated and signed the treaty between Great Britain and Argentina, was in furtherance of a policy to which Britain and the United States subscribed. This was also accomplished, if not actually in cooperation with the diplomatic representatives of the United States, at least concurrently with their efforts to achieve precisely similar objects as those pursued by my grandfather.

There is no need to relate in detail all the steps leading to the recognition by the British and United States Governments of the independence of the South American republics. The two Anglo-Saxon nations followed a com-



Wide World Photos

THE PRINCE OF WALES
As he looked on his departure from New York on Nov. 24, 1924.

mon policy in opposition to that favored by Europe and in direct antagonism to the pretensions and purposes of the Holy Alliance. The leaders of this policy were, on the British side, George Canning, Foreign Secretary, and on the American side President Monroe. They were determined that a group of young nations should be recognized, and that their independence, won after a long and bitter struggle, should be respected. Behind President Monroe stood a united nation, but Canning had to play almost a lone hand, for not only were some of his Cabinet colleagues unsympathetic, but King George IV. was openly hostile to the policy. It is this fact that made Canning's attitude toward South America so bold, and gave it so much po-

itical importance. Canning may be alleged to have prompted, if he did not inspire, the Monroe Doctrine. Through Richard Rush, then United States Minister in London, he made overtures for the possible cooperation of the United States with Great Britain to prevent a hostile enterprise of the European powers against Spanish America. He also urged Rush to endeavor to secure a firm declaration of American policy. In October, 1823, Canning notified France and the United States that Great Britain intended to recognize the new republics. In December President Monroe promulgated his famous doctrine. Great Britain's formal recognition of the republics was announced to the world on Jan. 1, 1824.

Sir Woodbine Parish, who had been in the foreign service of England since he was a boy of sixteen and was now only 27, had already been selected by Canning to proceed to the River Plate and report on conditions among the revolted colonies, in anticipation of a treaty with them. He sailed for Buenos Aires on Dec. 21, 1823, reaching his destination three and a half months later. At Buenos Aires the little colony of Britons and Americans gave the first British Consul-General a warm welcome. He found a genial and sympathetic colleague in Caesar A. Rodney, Minister for the United States, who was also looking for a treaty of commerce with "the United Provinces of the River Plate," as Argentina was then designated. At the official celebration of May 25, the anniversary of the first revolt of 1810, Rodney and Parish were the joint guests of honor. Rodney, speaking in English, proposed the toast of "The State of Buenos Aires," but Parish, who had been quicker to learn Spanish, made a great hit by delivering his speech in that tongue. Rodney was taken ill some days after the banquet and died just when about to enter into a friendly battle with my grandfather to be the first to secure a treaty. Parish went ahead with his negotiations and after months of strenuous work—during which he found the Argentines ex-

acting in their demands and unversed in diplomatic procedure — the famous treaty of "amity, commerce and navigation" was at last signed on Feb. 2, 1825. Those who are familiar with South American history attach considerable significance to the fact that the Prince of Wales is visiting several of the republics in the year that marks the centenary of the treaty with Argentina, and the foundation of British political and commercial relations with practically the whole of Latin America. In the hundred years that have passed there has been no serious difficulty between Great Britain and her South American friends. The treaty has been faithfully observed on both sides and still stands as the basis of the good-will, mutual understanding, and close commercial relations that now obtain.

REASON OF PRINCE'S VISIT

It is rather remarkable, bearing in mind Britain's century-old friendship for South America, that this is the first time she has sent there such an important Ambassador as the Prince of Wales. Even that statement needs correction, for the Prince is not being "sent," but is responding to an invitation that came originally from Argentina, to which Chile and Uruguay have also subscribed. Great Britain has maintained the usual diplomatic relations with the South American countries, and on rare occasions has sent out special missions, but has not done as much in this direction as some of us would like, and has lagged behind the United States in recognition of the importance of Latin America from the political standpoint. For instance, South America has been visited by such prominent Americans—frequently in their public capacity—as the late President Roosevelt, Bainbridge Colby, ex-Secretary of State, and General Pershing. The United States has an Embassy in Argentina, while Britain still maintains only a legation. Another significant feature of the Prince's visit is that it is the first time a member of the British royal family has formally and officially set foot in

South America. Forty-five years ago King George, then a young naval officer, spent two or three days in Buenos Aires, and before him his uncle, the late Duke of Edinburgh, also visited some of the republics, but these visits were merely incidental to cruises on which they happened to be engaged. The Prince of Wales is making his tour under quite different auspices. He is the invited guest of a group of republics and is visiting them as official representative of the British Nation.

There is neither mystery of motive nor strangeness of purpose in the visit of the Prince to South America. Apart from the fact that Great Britain is a very old friend of South America, it is natural that, having traveled very widely and having visited all parts of the world except Latin America, he should see that quarter of the globe. It is, indeed, surprising, in view of the Anglo-South American relations, that periodical visits of British royalties have not long since been regular incidents. That Great Britain is a monarchy and the South American countries republics has nothing to do with it. To the South American peoples we British attribute a genuine desire to welcome a man who has attracted world-wide attention, and we take it nationally as a compliment that they are equally sincere in their wish to receive the Prince as the official representative of their oldest friend amongst the European powers. To look beyond this simple explanation for a motive, or political object for the visit, seems to be as unnecessary as it is futile. There can be no political consequences of the visit other than to strengthen already existing relations. Great Britain throughout the war received sympathetic support and material assistance from South America, and everybody is aware that when the United States gave a strong lead several of the republics came in on the side of the Allies.

The economic purposes of the Prince's visit, however, are of considerable importance. Valuable publicity must accrue both to Great Britain and

South America as one result. Despite the fact that British investments in South America are enormous; that Great Britain looks so keenly to the maintenance of trade with the republics, and that Great Britain is so largely dependent upon them for food supplies and stocks of raw materials, British ignorance of those countries is simply appalling—an ignorance that extends to the simplest facts of history and geography and that very frequently does grave injustice. For instance, the South American nations are regarded as being always in a state of upheaval and revolution, when the truth is that they are orderly, highly civilized, cultured, democratic and progressive. If we can regard the dissipation of such ignorance in Great Britain as a political consequence which will follow the Prince's visit, then he is undertaking the finest political mission that was ever entrusted to anybody. The value of the publicity which Great Britain is likely to derive from the tour should not be overlooked. It will be a logical and natural consequence of an event of wide public interest if the South Americans come to know much more about Great Britain and the British than they know today. I am not suggesting that the Prince is a sort of mutual publicity agent, though he has, indeed, good-humoredly described himself as a national asset in this sense. Nevertheless, publicity inevitably follows from his movements.

STRONG TRADE POSITION

British manufacturers and exporters have been preparing for an increase in trade as a result of the Prince's visit. They are aware that already there is a lively interest among South American merchants in such seemingly trivial things as the kind of ties the Prince wears; his style of clothes and his predilections in the matter of hats, pipes, tobacco pouches, and so on. But those who may agree that there is no political motive or purpose behind the visit may still require an assurance that the tour

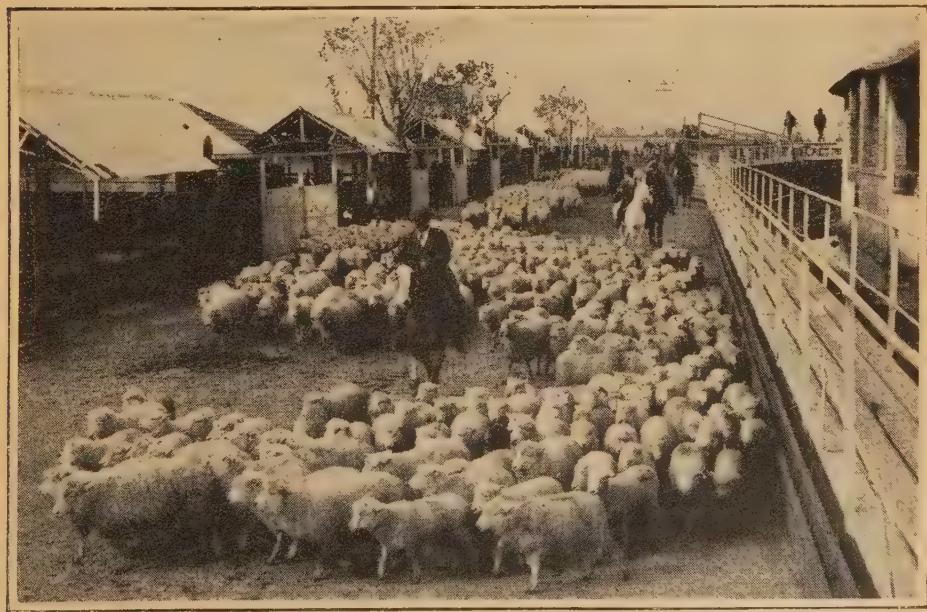
has not been arranged to stimulate British trade. To satisfy them let it be said that so far as the Argentine Republic is concerned Great Britain had a record year in 1924, and was easily first among the nations in the matter of sales of merchandise. Great Britain's position in Argentina, in comparison with her biggest trade competitors, is easily seen from the following figures showing the exports from the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany for four vital years in commercial history. These figures are from Argentine official statistics, the values being in gold pesos, which are almost equivalent to American dollars:

	Great Britain.	United States.	Germany.
1910.....	\$117,908,831	\$52,195,566	\$65,896,941
1913.....	154,053,513	73,012,668	83,933,786
1918.....	124,960,102	169,506,948	221,628
1924.....	173,340,072	163,512,720	92,786,400

To the British figures should be added approximately another \$7,000,000 representing exports from Canada, Australia and the other British dominions. The figures just given tell their

own story. Great Britain has more than held her pre-war position; the United States has substantially maintained the trade which she so valuably developed during the war, and Germany has regained what she lost. In the other republics the position is not so satisfactory, perhaps, from the British point of view. The United States holds the lead in Brazil, and in one or two other instances is also ahead of Britain.

The remarkable expansion of United States trade in South America naturally provokes the question whether this expansion has been at the expense of Great Britain. No doubt it has been so to some extent, but before a definite answer to the question could be given one would require to analyze the trade returns as they affect all exporting countries. Clearly it is impossible for a powerful competitor like the United States to enter any field without her activity militating in some measure against those who also trade in that field, and clearly, also, Great Britain's participation in the trade must have suffered as a consequence of the vig-



Ewing Galloway

Flocks of sheep being driven into one of the great stockyards of Buenos Aires



Ewing Galloway

One of the two long rows of grain elevators on the main ship basin at Buenos Aires

orous development of the past ten years. It would, however, be better to put it in another way—if the United States were not so active Great Britain's share of the trade would be larger than it already is. But Great Britain is not so unreasonable as to expect any nation to relapse into inactivity for its special benefit. It is also to be remembered that Latin America is uniformly prosperous, progressive and developing. Its purchasing power is increasing. Hence the volume of trade in which all nations may participate is steadily growing. There is no doubt, also, that much of the trade of the United States is new trade—the sale of special merchandise such as agricultural machinery, automobiles, typewriters and similar lines in which the British manufacturer has never held pre-eminence in South American trade.

Whatever might be the conclusions of those who, unlike myself, claim to be trade experts, the fact remains that Great Britain holds a very strong posi-

tion in South America. It is a position in which she is entrenched by reason of her enormous investments in public service utilities such as railways, tramways, gas, light and power installations. In Argentina, for instance, these investments represent over \$1,500,000,000 and British goods necessarily have first consideration on the part of those operating these utilities. It has been said that by early association with the development of South America the British gained a virtual monopoly of the trade. That may be true, but it is equally true that the British have never abused the privilege which they created for themselves, nor ruthlessly exploited their monopoly. Today this stands to the credit and advantage of Great Britain, who possesses the good-will and appreciation derived from a century of solid trade. Great Britain neither desires nor expects to have a vast and rich field like South America entirely to herself. She is in competition with the world and she knows it.

Esperanto—the New World Language

By JAMES DENSON SAYERS
President of the New York Esperanto Club

THREE is a peculiar condition today in the field of linguistics. We have, on one hand, a fast growing number of converts to the idea of an international, auxiliary language, more particularly Esperanto. On the other hand, we find enthusiasm so intense that it almost amounts to fanaticism for the revival of older national languages long since in disuse as everyday speech.

Hebrew, having been considered by many as permanently dead and buried, is being successfully revived; Gaelic, the ancient speech of an irrepressible race, is heard again in classrooms wherever sons of Erin are found; Lithuanian, nearest of all European languages to the mother Sanskrit, with a store of literature from pre-Shakespearean times, but almost extinct as a modern written language, is hopefully convalescent; Catalonian, well preserved in literature and speech by one of the most progressive people of the Iberian Peninsula, is vehemently asserting its place in the sun; Bohemian, perhaps the strongest of the Slavonic languages, is again the chief official language of a revived nation, and on every hand scholars and linguists as well as patriotic nationalists of this or that race are taking great interest in extinct or nearly extinct languages and dialects.

NEED OF A NEUTRAL WORLD TONGUE

An impartial student, viewing the needs of the modern world, may have misgivings at this reversal tendency and the consequent increase in the number of languages spoken in the world today. Yet, on second thought one can see that such a tendency may have one most momentous result, viz.: it may aid materially in bringing the day of a universally accepted auxiliary language.

This possibility opens a fascinating realm of thought. The insuperable barrier of national or racial jealousies precludes the possibility of other peoples accepting world-wide pre-eminence of any single nation's tongue. The Irish desire to revive Gaelic is due more to a hatred of all things English than to a belief that the ancient Gaelic would be a better medium of expression; the Catalonian would exclude Spanish in his schools and use Catalonian entirely, in spite of the commercial disadvantages, not as the result of reasoning, but mainly because the rule of Castile is galling to his pride; the German would never accept English or French, nor vice versa, and neither would other nations; furthermore, we of the West would not accept Chinese, although it is the written language of a fourth of the earth's population. The other reason is that irregularities and complexities of grammar and pronunciation make it extremely difficult for persons not native to a language to master it.

At least as early as the Roman Empire there were thoughts of a single world language. The language of the conquerors, Latin, and Greek, the then language of culture, gained great vogue as international mediums. These were possible only for the scholars, as the uneducated masses could not master the complicated grammars of these cultural tongues. No clear realization, however, of the need of a common auxiliary language was evident until Leibnitz and his contemporaries, some 300 years ago. Leibnitz developed his complicated system of numerals which could be turned into thoughts. He was a scholar and philosopher. To create a simple, easily learned language, which should be a medium of communication for all the

masses of humanity, as well as for scholars, was unworthy of his consideration.

Nearer our own time we find the German priest, Schleyer, at last getting close to the correct principle for an acceptable international language. He invented a language, named by him "Volapük," based on modern languages, though following the English more than any other. But he mutilated the words too much, which resulted in considerable difficulty for students to learn and remember them. For example the name "Volapük" itself was supposed to be the two English words "world speech," but it is more truly a mongrel of German and English, recognizable by neither a German nor an Englishman. As a consequence of this defect, although it had attained noteworthy success in actual use, its following had nearly all deserted it because of internal dissensions or gone over to the more ingenious and easier mastered Esperanto

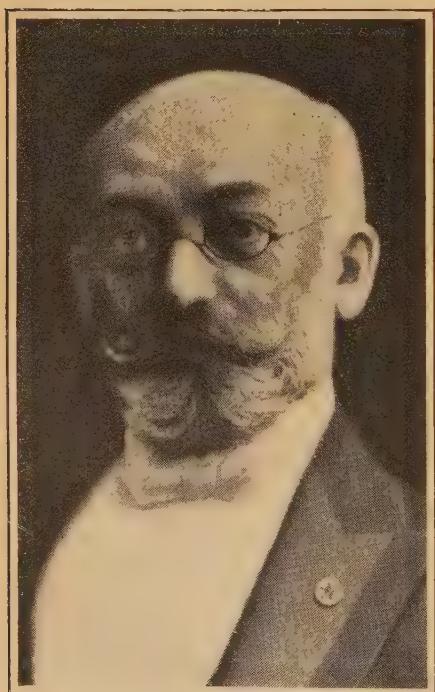
within five years after the latter's promulgation by Dr. Zamenhof in 1887.

ESPERANTO VS. VOLAPUK

Dr. L. L. Zamenhof, who made the second, and, until the present, by far the most widely successful essay at creating a workable international language, had been laboring on his creation for some years before Schleyer first published his Volapük. He had already discovered most of the basic principles that make Esperanto a marvel of ingenious simplicity. But when Volapük appeared, Zamenhof continued to work on his language, profiting by some of the experiences of Volapük. In 1887, believing that he had discovered and applied practically all the basic principles necessary to make his work fill the requirements of simplicity, logic and scientific precision, as well as providing for its gradual, safe development to greater perfection, Zamenhof published his language under the title of "The Language of Dr. Esperanto" (he who hopes). Being an idealist and extremely modest, he wished to give his work, on which he had spent fifteen years of intense labor, to the world without profit to himself. He therefore published it uncopiedrighted.

Although Schleyer and Zamenhof recognized and applied the principle of the greatest internationality of words selected for their systems, they failed to adhere strictly enough to this principle to satisfy the more academic philologists. They had pointed the way of the a posteriori or synthetic principle, but neither had clearly defined it. As a result we find from 1890 to 1908 a prolific flowering of other neo-linguistic projects. These newer languages, with rare exception, either borrowed much from or were based upon, or even simple plagiarisms of Esperanto. Most of them never gained more than passing notice.

When Volapük began to go down, because of its own inherent faults and because of its successful rival, Esperanto, its more faithful followers sought to



LAZARUS LUDWIG ZAMENHOF

The Polish eye specialist (born at Bielostok 1859, died 1917) who invented Esperanto

change it into acceptable form. Mr. W. Rosenberger, one of the leading Volapükists, taking note of the suggestions of Julius Lott, a leading Austrian Volapükist, and of Dr. Alberto Liptay, a surgeon in the Chilean army who had engaged in newspaper work in Europe for several years, brought out a new language which he called "Idiom Neutral." The suggestions of Lott in his "Mundolingue," and Liptay, who was favorable to Lott's often revamped project, were that the international language already existed in the present languages; that it had only "to be discovered, not invented." Idiom Neutral was based on a comparison of all previous projects and a study of natural languages. It was influenced much in its word-forms by Zamenhof's Esperanto, but made the great mistake of ignoring the simplicity and scientific regularity of the Esperanto grammar. Idiom Neutral showed a more careful searching after root words of greater internationality and had many more affixes than in Esperanto, but it had serious faults which were the result of trying to apply untried theories on a wide scale without first submitting them to a long and severe laboratory apprenticeship of practical experimentation. This Dr. Zamenhof had done for many years before offering his work to more than a limited circle of relatives and co-workers. Idiom Neutral has been worked over many times, in whole or in part, since 1903. It still has many followers, but several dissenters have branched off with projects of their own, taking with them or building their own little groups of followers.

UNINFLECTED LATIN, IDO, NOV-ESPERANTO

Scholars will find great interest in the quite successful simplification of Latin worked out by Professor Giuseppe Peano, well-known mathematician of the University of Turin. Professor Peano calls his neo-Latin "Latino sine Flexione." He found that in the five languages, English, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, approximately

seven-tenths of the words have similar forms. He traced these forms etymologically to their originals in Latin, appropriated them and applied them to his simplified, uninflected revision of Latin. He used their Latin orthography intact.

The fact that Professor Peano and many of his fellow-academicians of different countries have used Latino sine Flexione in practical correspondence over a number of years has proved its value in actual use. All scholars and high school students with four years of Latin credits will be able to read Peano's Latino more or less easily, according to the number of Latin words they remember. But the great mass of mankind, knowing little of the original Latin, would have to start from the beginning to memorize the great number of arbitrary words.

Ido is an offspring of Esperanto. Early in this century reformers insisted upon certain radical changes in Esperanto. The Esperanto Academy and Language Committee, the ruling body of the language, believing Esperanto fundamentally sound and seeing only chaos as the result of the many proposals of change, refused to acquiesce in the reforms. As a result Marquis de Beaufront, M. Couturat and others less versed in practical knowledge of Esperanto brought forth a reformed Esperanto and called it Ido, which in itself means "offspring," "-id," the Esperanto suffix for "the young of a species," with the nominative ending "o."

Proponents of Ido have offered some points of merit, but as a whole their project contains fatal faults. Their desire to eliminate the supersigned letter is laudable, for, even though typewriter and linotype manufacturers make the supersign characters to add to their machines upon request (and they are doing this now almost without exception), the standard keyboard of linotype and typewriter machines would eventually have to undergo radical changes before the world could readjust itself to the new alignment of the alphabet. But the Idists thought that some sounds in Es-



Children learning Esperanto in a Czechoslovakian school

peranto were too harsh or sibilant. As a consequence, they sought for greater euphony, resulting in a language weaker, less comprehensible to the ear than the stronger Esperanto. They needlessly added grammatical difficulties, such as two extra infinitive endings of verbs, past and future, instead of the one simple present as in Esperanto. They added distinctions in adjectival endings to show when an adjective referred to a human being, or to other objects, a serious complication which is proven in Esperanto and natural languages to be wholly unnecessary. They thought the Esperanto prefix "mal-", which reverses the meaning of a word, unsound and eliminated it, thus adding heavily to the number of arbitrary words with which the memory must be burdened.

Ido was first published in 1907-08 without sufficient laboratory work upon it. As a consequence, in actual practice its faults have been recognized and there has been a constant tendency among its adherents to work it over. They sought to establish a ten-year period of "stability" when it was not to

be changed, which period has just ended, but nevertheless during that period many of its enthusiasts were busy on improvements and changes. These are now being made known, some even adopting new names for their improved forms.

It is possible that out of the constant working over of Ido a better artificial language than now exists will result, but the fact which faces the world of today with a loud and insistent demand for recognition is that a world auxiliary language is needed now and will not be put off until tomorrow or the next day. Radio, science, commerce and innumerable other fields of activity need it, and, in fact, have adopted Esperanto, as recorded below.

Dr. René de Saussure of Switzerland, for many years a member of the Esperanto Academy and recognized as one of the ablest Esperantists in the world, having been for more than twenty years a profound and indefatigable student of Esperanto, has published a reformation of the latter, leaving the fundamentals of the Zamenhof language untouched, but offering some improvements of un-

doubted merit. He calls his improvement "Nov-Esperanto," and holds it subject to the authority of the Esperanto Academy, thus obviating the addition of more disputings and chaos in the field of international language. In his masterly replies to M. Couturat's "Rules of Derivation" as applied in Ido, Dr. de Saussure shows that the "Principle of Derivation" in Esperanto is much superior because of its grammatical stability.

Nov-Esperanto will undoubtedly be given much consideration by any future governmental commissions looking into the work already done toward a world language. It seems now that such an authoritative commission will be organized in the near future as a result of the earnest labors of the International Auxiliary Language Association, Inc., an organization fostered by wealthy Americans and prominent educators and scientists, chief among whom are Mrs. Dave Hennen Morris and Dean Babcock of New York, and Dr. F. G. Cottrell of the National Research Council and Science Service of Washington, D. C. As Nov-Esperanto is mainly Esperanto with a purely Latin alphabet, containing only about 100 word changes, it would take an Esperantist only a few minutes to learn the changes.

WORLD TRIUMPH OF ESPERANTO

Of all the artificial languages published before or concurrently with Esperanto and of the immense number (about 150) appearing since Esperanto was given first publication in 1887, the latter continues today transcendently more successful in its world-wide acceptance by all classes of people.

Given a severe set-back during the blood and carnage of the World War, a natural consequence of that period when all better human inclinations were stifled, Esperanto came forward again with a resurgence of strength and enthusiasm that has carried it far toward the heights of full acceptance. When one considers the post-war poverty of the world, and especially of Europe, where the greatest amount of popular

support for an international language exists, and then sees the fidelity and sacrifices made by the far-flung army of Esperanto workers, one is sure to be deeply impressed.

The post-war Esperanto world congresses, from the first one held at The Hague in 1920, when about 450 delegates from some twenty countries were present, to those of the last two years (Nuremberg, 1923; Vienna, 1924), when approximately 4,000 delegates from forty-five countries gathered themselves together for a week of business and festivities, have shown conclusively the growth and practical success of this marvelous artificial tongue. The congresses of thousands from every part of the earth meet in immense auditoriums and in festival gatherings, using only one language in all their proceedings, never thinking of needing interpreters and translators.

The ease with which one acquires fluency in Esperanto is interestingly illustrated by great numbers of persons who, after more or less study of the language in their homes and alone, out of touch with other Esperantists, journey to these world gatherings of their "samideanoj" (pronounced sahm-ee-day-ahn-oy and meaning "one of the same idea"), and find, to their delight and surprise, that upon arrival they can understand and speak quite workably and after the week is over can easily converse in Esperanto.

Because of the little present need for such an auxiliary language in North America most Americans are unaware of the existence of movements for artificial world language projects. They are greatly surprised to hear that the League of Nations Assembly has given favorable consideration to Esperanto and has asked its member nations to accept Esperanto on equal basis with the seven other "plain languages" in their telegraphs and cables. They were more surprised in April and May of this year when reading cable dispatches from three great world conferences in Paris where, in April, the first annual convention of the World Union of Radio Amateurs, representing seventeen countries, adopted Esperanto by almost

unanimous vote as the world radio language; where also, in the middle of May, the World Congress of Chambers of Commerce, meeting under the auspices of the Paris Chamber of Commerce, reaffirmed its decision reached at Venice two years ago and took steps to urge Esperanto more vigorously upon the business world as the common commercial language, the Paris Chamber backed strongly by the Chambers of the other French cities, taking conspicuous lead in this action; where, more unexpected still, at the same time that the Chambers of Commerce were in session, the World Conference of Academies of Natural and Applied Sciences decided to accept and support Esperanto as the international language of science.

It is interesting to see that the Orient is taking up Esperanto in a serious and business-like way. In both Japan and China, especially in the former country, tens of thousands are studying the language; and business and professional men, educators, newspapers and Government officials are using it. Most of the medical journals of Japan, according to a recent detailed report, print technical treatises in Esperanto. Mr. Osaka, Minister of Imperial Railways of Japan, is an ardent Esperantist, hav-

ing traveled through China in the Spring of 1924 studying railroad conditions and using Esperanto extensively with the Chinese with whom he had dealings. This was told the writer by Mr. Otsuki, Secretary of the Imperial Railways, who also is an Esperantist, during a visit in the writer's home a few months ago.

RAPID GROWTH IN EUROPE AND SOUTH AMERICA.

In Europe during the last two or three years Esperanto has spread so rapidly that it is impossible to chronicle its victories in this limited article. Several Governments have given official recognition, in some cases, financial aid to the movement. In England, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Esperanto is going forward with great strides, while Switzerland, Spain, France, Italy, Bulgaria, Holland, Finland, Russia and Rumania are not lagging. Scandinavia and Belgium, with the exception of Odense and Copenhagen, have not recognized the value of an auxiliary language to any notable extent. Brazil has for several years been giving Federal recognition and aid to Esperanto in that country. Recently the commercial schools there decreed that Esperanto should henceforth be a



Esperanto booth at the Leipsic Fair, where Esperanto is used as one of the official languages

part of their compulsory curriculum. Other countries of South America, especially Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, have strong movements, while Mexico and Cuba have considerable numbers of active advocates.

In its grammar and its system of word-building Esperanto is the extreme of simplicity, yet it is very precise in all its forms. The grammar consists of just sixteen rules. A person of ordinary education can learn the grammar in a few hours. There are twelve conjugations; all verbs are invariably regular. There are only two cases: Nominative and accusative; the latter is obtained from the nominative by adding *n* and is a highly valuable feature of Esperanto. Other cases are expressed by prepositions: Genitive by *de*; dative, *al*; ablative, *per*.

The accent is regular, always on the penultimate vowel. There are five vowels and twenty-three consonants with only one sound to each. All nouns end in *o*; adjectives, *a*; verbs (infinitive), *i*; adverbs, *e*.

There are about 2,900 root words at present in the ordinary literary language of Esperanto. This excludes some 2,000 technical and scientific terms, a list that is now being rapidly increased. At present there are about thirty-seven affixes. By the aid of these affixes and the elastic system of compounding possible in Esperanto, one who knows only 1,000 roots has a possible vocabulary of 25,000 words at the very least. When we remember that Elbert Hubbard, said to have had the most extensive vocabulary of all men, used only 22,000 words, and Shakespeare had but 15,000, we can understand Esperantists when they contend that thoughts are often more easily and perfectly expressed in Esperanto than in one's native language. The music and word-wizardry of some of the master poets of Esperanto is a

source of keenest delight to the lover of poetry. Koloman Kalocsay of Hungary has published two volumes of poetry in Esperanto that deserve a very high place in the world's literature. His translation into Esperanto of Madach's "Tragedy of Man" is an excellent work of art.

An educated person can learn Esperanto well for reading, writing and speaking in three months of ordinary, consistent study. Those of slight education can learn it in less than a year and by means of the study learn their own language better by mastering, through Esperanto, the purpose and logic of grammar with the least loss of time. In the same manner it has proved an excellent method of preparing school children for a better understanding of both their native and foreign languages.

After a few hours' study of Esperanto one can take up correspondence in it with interesting people in all foreign countries, thereby materially increasing one's knowledge and world perspective. In traveling, an Esperantist has at his or her service the more than 1,200 consuls in as many cities of the world of the Universal Esperanto Association. A letter sent on ahead to the consul will insure any reservations and other preparations for the traveler's arrival. One or more Esperantists will meet him on arrival and shower upon him every attention that the most solicitous friends could offer. Any sort of information from any part of the world where one of these consuls is located can be had upon request by simply enclosing an international postal reply coupon.

The headquarters of the Universal Esperanto Association are at 12 Boulevard du Théâtre, Geneva, Switzerland; for Great Britain, the British Esperanto Association, 17 Hart Street, London, W. C., 1; in North America, North American Esperanto Association, 507 Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

Arab Versus Jew in the New Palestine

This article and the article that follows, written respectively by an Arab intellectual and a prominent member of the Zionist organization, deal with a controversy which is still agitating Palestine and the Palestine Administration—an agitation in whose repercussions Great Britain, as sponsor by the Balfour Declaration for the new Jewish State, is vitally interested. The hostility of the Arabs to the Palestine Administration and their grievances against it, as well as against Great Britain, are set forth in the first of the two articles by Mr. Husseini. This Arab intellectual is himself a Palestinian Arab, member of an eminent Arab family long resident in Jerusalem and a graduate student at the American University of Cairo, Egypt. Both in Egypt and Palestine he has won recognition as a keen and competent interpreter of religious and political tendencies in the Near East, and especially as an authority on the racial dispute between Jew and Arab in Palestine. The second article, embodying the Zionist view of the controversy is by Mr. Stein, a prominent official of the World Zionist Organization. Mr. Stein is a graduate of Oxford University and a member of the British bar. He served as a representative of the British Intelligence Office during the World War. He is the author of "Zionism" and other important works in this field, and co-editor of "The Awakening of Palestine." Mr. Stein is recognized as an authority on the history and aims of the Zionist movement in the Near East.

I. From the Arab Standpoint

By ISAAC M. HUSSEINI

An Arab well-known in Palestine and Egypt as an interpreter of religious and political tendencies in the Near East.

THE Balfour declaration setting up a national home for the Jews in Palestine and issued on the fateful day of Nov. 2, 1917, was the signal for an unprecedented outburst of joy and enthusiasm throughout the length and breadth of the Zionist world. In this rejoicing there was every evidence of a complete and flagrant disregard for the welfare of the Palestinian Arabs (Moslems and Christians), who form over 91 per cent. of the population of the country. The text of the declaration was as follows:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.

This declaration, which constitutes the basis for the present Palestine administration, still headed by "an ardent Zionist," Sir Herbert Samuel, who will soon retire, did not only move the spirit of Zion to establish a national home, but also to stamp Palestine into a purely Zionist mold and to rebuild the "lost temple" in place of the Mosque of Omar; which is the second most sacred place in the Moslem world.

ZIONIST AIM JEWISH PREDOMINANCE

The Zionist leaders have frequently announced that their greatest aim is to reconstruct once more this ancient temple, the centre of their national home. Dr. Eder, Acting Chairman of the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem in a statement that may be found in the reports of the Commission of Inquiry on the disturbances in May, 1921, declared:

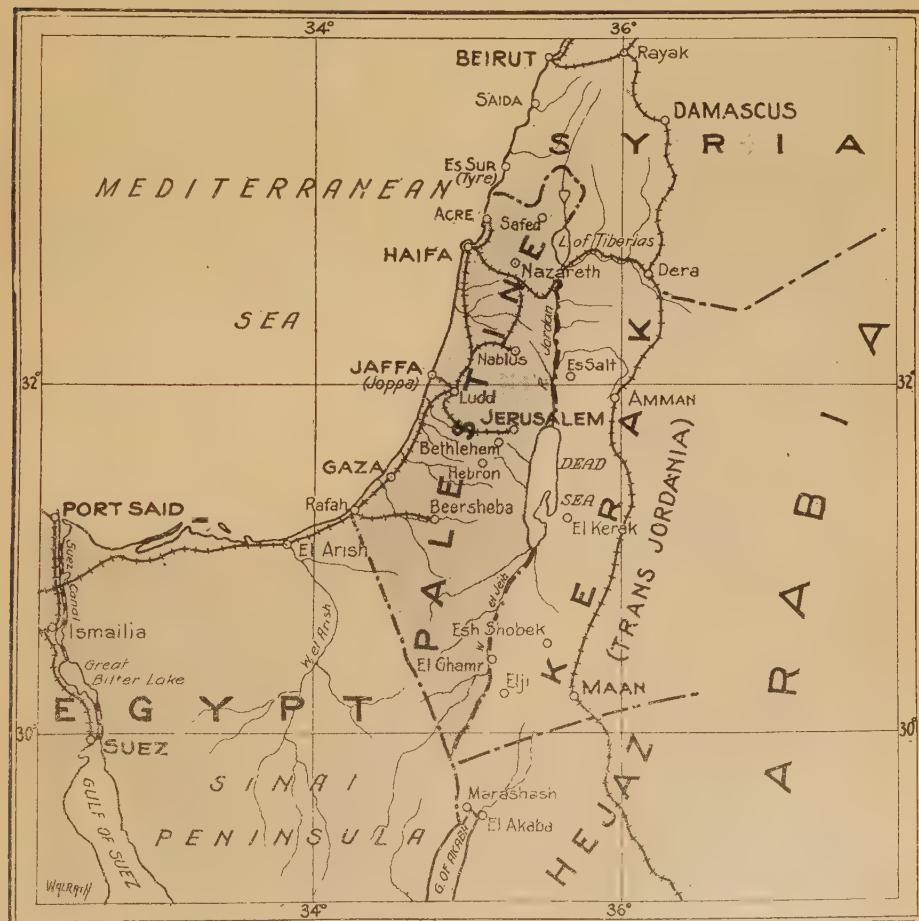
"There can only be one National

Home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish predominance as soon as the numbers of that race are sufficiently increased."

The Arabs' fears were further increased when it was learned, again from Zionist official and unofficial sources, that the object of Zionism was not merely to provide a "home" in Palestine, as the declaration indicates, for poor, persecuted Jews, as the declaration intonates, but to create a Jewish State "as Jewish as England is English!" Sir Herbert Samuel, in his recent interim report on the civil administration of Palestine, said, "They (i. e., Jews and

Zionists) ask that this Home should possess national characteristics—in language and customs, in intellectual interest, in religious and *political* institutions." Again Dr. Weizman, the Zionist leader, in a statement found in the Political Report (No. 1) of the Carlsbad Congress, expressed himself as follows:

I declare that by a Jewish National Home we meant the creation in Palestine of such conditions as should enable us to establish between 50,000 and 60,000 Jews per annum there, and to settle them on the land. Further, that the condition should be such that we should be allowed to develop our institutions, our schools and the Hebrew language—that there should ultimately be such conditions that Palestine should be just as Jewish



Map of Palestine and neighboring States

'as America is American and England is English.'

Looking still further we find a paragraph in the Jewish Chronicle of April 15, 1921, which runs thus: "Only if there can be a fair prospect of Jews being ultimately re-established in Palestine as a nation, ultimately forming there * * * a Jewish commonwealth can we hope to enlist the support of any considerable body of our people in the Palestine enterprise."

From these few statements made by leaders of high rank in Zionism we can realize the "true aim" of the Zionists, not only as it is outlined in the Balfour declaration but as it is planned in the minds of their leaders. If we add to these the promises which were given to the Arabs during the war and their anticipation of freedom and self-government after the war, we can grasp some slight idea of the problems and fears and perplexities that trouble the mind of the Arab today.

PLEDGES TO ARABS NOT KEPT

In a letter addressed on July 14, 1915, to Sir Henry MacMahon, King Hussein, who had decided to take up arms on the side of the Allies, asked, first, "that England should acknowledge the independence of the Arab countries bounded on the north by Mersina, on the east by the frontiers of Persia up to the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean, with the exception of Aden, and on the west by the Red Sea and the Mediterranean up to Mersina." Palestine thus came within these boundaries. Replying to the above on Oct. 24, 1915, Sir Henry wrote that he was empowered in the name of the Government of Great Britain to give the following assurances:

Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sherif. Regarding the Vilayets of Bagdad and Basra, the Arabs will recognize that the established position and interests of Great Britain necessitate special measures of administration and control in order to secure these territories from foreign aggression.

This pledge and many others were given in consideration of the help rendered by the Arabs in behalf of the Allies. Arab forces under Emir Feisal worked hand in hand with British troops, and hundreds of officers and men under this Arab Prince were Arabs of Palestine. By a comparison between the pledges which were given to the Arabs on various occasions and the promise (Balfour declaration) which was given to the Jews at a later date, we are able to get to the bottom of the problems with which the Arab is confronted in Palestine.

The Arabs of Palestine, who, it must be remembered, compose 91 per cent. of the total inhabitants, elected a delegation in 1922 to convey a message of good-will from both Moslems and Christians to the British Government and to the British public. This delegation placed before the Allies, and especially Great Britain, the condition of the country and asked them to fulfill their promises. But England turned a deaf ear to this reminder and nothing was accomplished.

The Arab people of Palestine ask that (1) a national Government be created that shall be responsible to a Parliament elected by those inhabitants of Palestine who lived there before the war—Moslems, Christians and Jews; (2) the abolition of the present policy in Palestine and the regulation of immigration to be controlled by this national Government, which would be the best judge of the capacity of the country to support newcomers; (3) the holy places for all religions to be left to the entire control of their present guardians, and neither the national Parliament nor any other authority be allowed to effect any changes therein; and (4) a local gendarmerie to be created for policing purposes for the inhabitants of Palestine, the expenses of this body to be met by the Palestine Government. This would save the British taxpayer the huge amounts he is now spending on this country.

Let me cite here a statement made by



The Arab delegation to Great Britain. Those standing are (left to right): Moin el Madi, Ameen el Hamimi, Shibly el Gamel (Secretary) and Ibrahim el Shamas; those sitting are (from left to right): Tawfik Hamaad (Vice President) and Kazem Pasha Husseini (President of the delegation and President of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Arab Congress)

a prominent Jew, an utterance which will show more clearly the fallacy on which Zionism is based. Mr. Henry Morgenthau, the former Ambassador of the United States to Turkey, said in his famous speech:

Zionism is the most stupendous fallacy in Jewish history. I assert that it is wrong in principle and impossible of realization; that it is unsound in economics, fantastical in its policies and sterile in its spiritual ideals. Where it is not pathetically visionary, it is a cruel playing with the hopes of a people blindly seeking their way out of age-long miseries. Zionism is a surrender, not a solution. It is a retrogression into the blackest error, and not progress toward the light. I will go further and say that it is a betrayal; it is an Eastern European proposal, fathered in this country by American Jews, which, if it were to succeed, would cost the Jews of America most

that they have gained of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. * * * But the notion that Great Britain would for one instant allow any form of government in Palestine, under any name whatever, that was in fact an anagram of the British Crown and subservient to the paramount interests of the British world policy, is too fantastical for serious refutation.

Generous America has thrown wide the doors of opportunity to him (i. e., the Jew). The Jew possesses no talents of mind or spirit that cannot find here a free field for their most complete expression. The enlightened Jews of America have found the true road to Zion. To them Zion is a region of the soul. To them it is an inner light, set upon the hill of personal consciousness. The Jews of France have found France to be their Zion. The Jews of England have found England to be their Zion. We Jews of America have found America to be our Zion. Therefore I refuse to allow myself to be called a Zionist. I am an American.

ZIONISM A CAUSE FOR UNREST

In his speech in the House of Commons Mr. Winston Churchill admitted that "the only cause of unrest in Palestine arose from the Zionist movement and from our promises and pledges in regard to it." Turning again to the reports of the Inquiry Commission we read the following:

We believe that had there been no Jewish question the Government would have had no political difficulty of any importance to deal with, so far as its domestic affairs are concerned. We consider that any anti-British feeling on the part of the Arabs that may have arisen in the country originates in their association of the Government with the furtherance of the policy of Zionism.

If we follow closely the causes of the riots in Palestine, which took place in April, 1920, and in May, 1921, we find that the Jews (Zionists) were the direct cause of all the unrest which led up to the shameful public demonstrations. The riots in Jerusalem (April, 1920) were started by a Jew throwing a stone at the sacred flag of the Hebron Mosque, when it was being carried in the streets by a large crowd of Arabs on their way to the Harem es-Sherif on the occasion of the annual national festival of Nebi Mousa.

The Jaffa riots (May, 1921) were the immediate outcome of a quarrel between Jewish Bolsheviki and the Jewish Labor Party, and followed on the morning of the night when a seditious Bolshevik propaganda sheet was distributed in Jaffa in Arabic, English and Hebrew, calling on the inhabitants to rise not only against all capitalists but also against the British Government and the British Army. This was officially admitted by the Administration. It was stated by a British Army officer that a large quantity of explosives was discovered by him in a Jewish house, while it was officially admitted that arms had been given by the authorities to Jews with which to protect themselves at Tel Aviv, Jaffa. Recently, too, the inhabitants of Palestine were publicly informed that arms had been distributed to all Jewish colonies. The Arabs, on

the other hand, had been disarmed, any Arab found in possession of firearms being heavily fined. The High Commissioner in his yearly report of 1922 states that "two attempts [Jewish] to smuggle arms by sea on an extensive scale were detected."

Accordingly, peace in the Holy Land is very difficult to maintain as long as the spirit of enmity which is caused by the Balfour declaration exists in the hearts of the two factions, the Arabs and the Jews. It is exceedingly difficult in this modern day to bring back peace to the land of peace, where Jesus Christ, prophet of love and peace, was born, a sorrowful fact to which the Government, and even many of the Jewish statesmen themselves, will bear no uncertain testimony.

In order to discover the tendencies of the country at the present time with regard to morality and crime it is noteworthy to observe that the police statistics published in the High Commissioner's yearly reports of 1921-1923 indicate an unhealthy state. The following are telling figures and show the total number of crimes committed in Palestine during those years:

11,009	in 1921
13,531	in 1922
16,700	in 1923

TAX BURDEN ON ARAB FARMERS

The revenue for the two years 1922 and 1923 amounted to 4,076,828 Egyptian pounds (approximately \$20,000,000), which means an average of about 3 pounds (\$15) per capita per annum. Adding municipal taxes, it will come up to 3½ pounds, which is extremely high when one takes into consideration the poverty of Palestine, a country whose exports are less than one-fourth of the imports. Yet we find that the great bulk of taxation falls on the farmer, who is the poorest and the only producing person in the country. Farmers give in the form of tithes and land tax about 15 per cent. of the total products of their farms, whether these are run at a profit or at a loss.

The distribution of revenue among

Government departments is still more absurd. For while public security and prisons departments receive 310,000 pounds (over a million and a half dollars), over and above the ten millions so far paid by Great Britain for the maintenance of troops in Palestine, the Department of Agriculture, which deals with the most vital concerns of the country, gets no more than 38,000 pounds (\$190,000) and the Department of Education only 100,000 pounds (\$500,000). It is evident that this unreasonable distribution of expenditure is caused by the Zionist policy, which requires great forces to protect it.

The economic policy of the Palestine Administration pursues two lines of action, the one pertaining to Arabs and the other to Jews. The latter is progressive, but the former is retrogressive. The overwhelming majority of the population in Palestine is composed of Arab farmers in the small towns and villages, who comprise the sole producing element. Meanwhile they are the poorest in the country. It is obviously essential that a bona-fide Government should, from the very outset, give the first hand of assistance to those who give most and suffer most. The Arab farmer has several vital and just complaints, none of which has, so far, been adjusted by the Government. Most of the burden falls on his shoulders, yet he does not enjoy commensurate advantages. He has no good roads, no sound public security, no efficient education and no just treatment by the Government. Quite different is the case with Jewish farmers, who are treated much more leniently by special Jewish police and estimators. The Government incurred great expense in building roads to Jewish colonies, and in fact all new roads and railway extensions built after the war were to and from Jewish colonies. In one case inhabitants of a certain Arab village (Hobab, Jaffa district) was driven by force to work, unpaid, on a road newly extended to a newly established Jewish colony.

In fact the present policy in Palestine is running in favor of the Balfour decla-

ration, which is so distinctly Zionist. Consequently the Administration devised a plan whereby the Arab farmer is driven to the land markets with his title deeds in hand to sell away land at whatever price the Jewish purchaser wishes to offer. The Jew, it must be noted, is the only person in Palestine who possesses any capital for such purchases.

The rule in general is that salaries of Government departmental employes should not exceed 12 per cent. of the total revenue of the country, whereas in Palestine no less than from 50 to 70 per cent. of that total is eaten up by salaries. High Government posts, and consequently the highest salaries, are held by foreigners, who number over 300. By way of comparison, Egypt, which contains twenty times the population of Palestine, with immense riches, has never borne the burden of more than 1,500 foreign officials. The idea of employing foreigners is based on the requirement for skilled experts and technical men, but in Palestine this motive is only secondary, for we meet with such incongruities as, for example, an actor holding the highest post in the revenue department and a teacher in the financial department.

The other posts are in the hands of the Jews, only a few falling to the hands of Moslems and Christians. The Jews, who form 9 per cent. of the total population, hold as many posts as do the Moslems and Christians together. It is noteworthy to mention also that posts which the Jews hold are of the first and second degree, while the Arabs hold those of the third and fourth degree, even the positions of servants and the lowest offices in the Government service.

ARABS PROTEST LORD BALFOUR'S VISIT

Jews say that some of their people are persecuted in other lands; that some among them desire to spend their last days in Palestine and be buried beneath its soil, that they want to revive the Hebrew language, that they wish to

build for themselves a great university, and perhaps a temple. The first part of their dream has been realized. A huge building has been bought on the Mount of Olives, thousands of pounds have been collected from Jews scattered in different parts of the world, and on April 1 the Hebrew University was opened in a blaze of pomp and impressive ceremony, with delegates from all the great educational institutions in every corner of the world present in solemn and portentous array. Although it is contended that the construction of this university is merely an educational enterprise, Lord Balfour was invited to preside over its official opening. Lord Balfour accepted the invitation with great alacrity and proceeded to Palestine on March 25 for the important event.

The Arabs met the visit of Lord Balfour with widespread strikes and mourn-

ing, sending him thousands of telegrams protesting against his fateful declaration and forthcoming visit. Moreover, they refused to allow him to visit the Mosque of Omar, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other religious places. The newspapers of Palestine and Syria appeared in heavy mourning on his arrival, with a sharp protest in English against his declaration.

Peace and love do not dwell in the hearts of Arab and Jew today. There must come a time when hatred between the two communities will accumulate to such a degree as to defy all moral or political restraints. It is a gross error to believe that Arab and Jew may come to an amicable understanding, if only each of them will exchange his coat of extremism for one of moderation. When the fundamental principles really clash, it is futile to expect ready reconciliation.

II. From the Zionist Standpoint

By CONRAD STEIN

Political Secretary, World Zionist Organization

AT the meeting in the Autumn of 1924 of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, a group of mischief-makers, self-styled the Palestine Arab Executives, presented a "Report on the State of Palestine." The Palestine Government issued a reply convicting the authors of this document of more than a dozen serious misstatements of fact, amounting to downright inventions. At Geneva all the points raised were minutely investigated by the Mandates Commission, which put the British High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, through a searching cross-examination. The commission—a body of experts, of whom only one is an Englishman—reported that, with regard to the administrative abuses alleged by the Arab memorandum, "the commission, having heard the High Commissioner's statements contesting the accuracy of

certain of the facts mentioned, and explaining others, is of opinion that there is no need to recommend the Council to take any action in the matter." In spite of this exposure, attempts are still being made to serve up these fictions afresh to a public which is assumed not to be in a position to put them to the test.

Before dealing with these charges seriatim, it may be well to clear the ground by disposing of the suggestion that Great Britain, in giving effect to the Balfour Declaration, is violating engagements contracted by her toward the Palestine Arabs, who—it is added—rendered important services to the Allies during the war. On this latter point it will be sufficient to quote the opinion of a responsible eyewitness, Philip Graves of The London Times, who served on the staff of the British Armies in the East, and was later Special Correspondent of

The Times in Palestine. Mr. Graves's statement, published in The London Times on April 5, 1922, was as follows:

Most annoying to one who served with the British and Arab forces in the Palestine campaign are the pretensions of the Arabs of Palestine to have rendered important military services to the Allies in the great war.

The Trans-Jordanians and the Hedjazis played their parts right well, but the Palestinians confined themselves to deserting in large numbers to the British, who fed and clothed and paid for the maintenance of many thousands of such prisoners of war, few indeed of whom could be induced to obtain their liberty by serving in the Sherifian Army.

The alleged war-time pledges to the Palestine Arabs are purely imaginary. They are based on nothing more than a garbled version of a letter written in October, 1915, by Sir Henry McMahon, then British High Commissioner in Cairo, and addressed, not to the Palestine Arabs, but to Sherif Hussein of Mecca. This letter embodies an undertaking on the part of Great Britain to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within certain geographical limits, which did not include Palestine. The Arab propagandists make out their case by the simple process of suppressing the material passages. Sir Henry McMahon made it clear that the British undertaking did not apply to those areas in which Great Britain was not at liberty to act without reference to the interests of France. Among these areas was Palestine, in which it was well understood that France had at the time a recognized locus standi. Sir Henry McMahon also stated explicitly that the undertaking did not apply to the area lying to the West of the district of Damascus. "This reservation," says the official reply to the Palestine Arab delegation of 1922, "has always been regarded by his Majesty's Government as covering the Vilayet of Beirut and the Sanjak of Jerusalem," i. e., the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan.

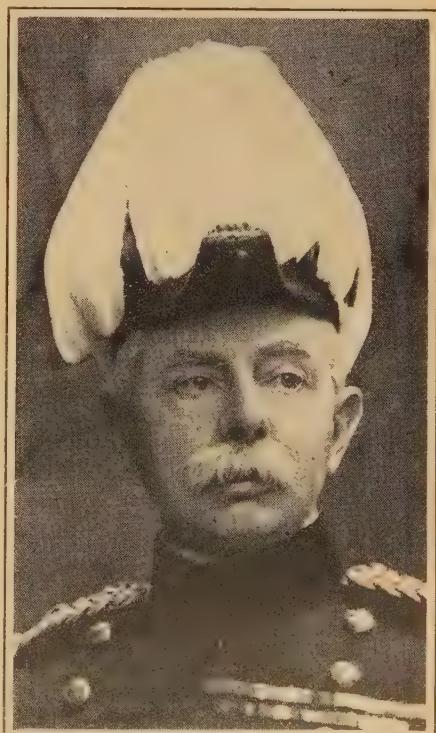
It is clear that the reservation was so understood by the Sherif himself. Five years elapsed before it occurred to him to suggest the contrary. That sugges-

tion, which was made in 1920 only to be promptly withdrawn, was obviously a mere afterthought. If further evidence is needed it is to be found in the attitude adopted at the peace conference in Paris by the Sherif's representative, the Emir Feisal. On March 1, 1919, Feisal declared, in a letter written for publication, that

our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best in so far as we are concerned, to help them through.

If these proposals were unreservedly accepted by Feisal and his advisers, it may be safely assumed that they did not violate either Arab rights or British pledges.

From these imaginary pledges we now pass to a series of not less imag-



Wide World Photos

LORD PLUMER
British Field Marshal appointed High Commissioner for Palestine in May, 1925

inary grievances. The complaint is made that Palestine is groaning under taxation amounting to a per capita charge of £3 (say \$14.50) a year. This figure is arrived at by the ingenious device of including under "taxation" the entire *gross receipts* of the Post Office and the State railways. The actual tax revenue is at the per capita rate of £1 15s. (say \$8.50), or not much more than half the amount alleged. As for the tithe, all that the Palestine Government has done is to continue for the time being a system of taxation which, whatever its defects, has been customary in Palestine from time immemorial. The only change which has been made is a recent reduction of the rate to 10 per cent., as compared with the 12½ per cent. collected by the Turks. The allegation that Jewish farmers are more lightly taxed than their Arab neighbors is not, and cannot be, supported by a shred of evidence. There is not a word of truth in it.

It is not the case, as is commonly alleged, that the Public Security and Prison Departments cost Palestine £310,000 (say \$1,490,000) a year. The actual cost of these services in 1923-24 was £265,000 (\$1,272,000) and the corresponding estimate for 1924-25 is £268,000 (\$1,286,000). It should be borne in mind that Palestine has frontiers which require to be vigilantly watched. Fugitives from Palestinian justice are apt to find a safe asylum across the Jordan, while the gendarmerie, in addition to dealing with smugglers, are also responsible for protecting Palestine from Bedouin raids.

The criminal statistics which are commonly quoted only go to prove, if they prove anything, that there is plenty of work for the Palestine police. There are no political prisoners in Palestine, nor have there been for several years. That brigandage and other crimes of violence are, and have always been, much too prevalent among the Arabs in the wilder parts of Palestine is a fact, but it is a fact which hardly seems to assist the case of the Arab propagandists.

The complaint that education is

starved is singularly unreasonable. The Permanent Mandates Commission states in its recent report on Palestine that "The commission highly appreciates the fact that the Administration has succeeded in establishing 190 new schools during two and a half years." In all these schools the language of instruction is Arabic and the pupils are Arabs. In 1923-1924, when the education budget was £103,000 (494,400), the Jews received nothing beyond a grant-in-aid of £2,995 (\$14,400). The vast majority of the Arabs are totally illiterate and the problem of educating them is one which can only be solved by gradual stages. As for the Jews, far from favoring them, the Government has actually gone out of its way to educate the Arabs at its own expense.

ARAB FARMER AIDED

It is alleged that the Government has neglected the interests of the Arab farmer. It is characteristic of the Arab propagandists that the only figure quoted in this connection is the £38,000 (\$182,000) allotted in the 1924-25 budget to the Department of Agriculture. No allusion is made to the not immaterial fact that the Government has made advances to the cultivators on easy terms to a total of £400,000 (\$1,920,000) and that by far the greater part of this amount has gone, and rightly so, to the Arabs, who form at present the bulk of the rural population.

Still more astonishing is the statement, which is a commonplace of Arab propaganda, that all new roads and railways built since the World War have been for the benefit of Jewish colonists. Of three new railways, one is a branch line to the important Jewish colony of Petach Tikweh. This line was built under an arrangement with the colonists guaranteeing the Government against loss. There are only two other new lines—one to the military camp at Surafend and the other to a quarry at Beit Nabala. Of at least four main roads built or rebuilt since the war only one leads to a Jewish colony, and even that is part of a projected

highway to the Arab town of Gaza. Numerous secondary roads have been made, but only one serves a Jewish colony, and that a road which serves also several adjacent Arab villages.

It is sometimes alleged that Arab villagers have been forced to work unpaid on road making for the benefit of Jewish colonists. This statement is a pure invention.

It is equally untrue that the Government has put pressure upon Arab farmers to compel them to sell their land to the Jews. As already seen, the Government has deliberately strengthened the farmers' position by granting them credits on easy terms. Apart from this, the only alteration which has been made in the status quo is that where land changes hands the Government now insists on stringent safeguards for the interests of sitting tenants. Under the Turkish law tenants could be—and often were—summarily evicted.

The Government's land policy is further illustrated by the action taken in the Beisan district, which forms part of the Jordan Valley. An extensive area, formerly owned by Arabs, was appropriated by the Turks as State lands and passed as such into the hands of the Palestine Government. Recognizing the moral claims of the Arab cultivators, the Government has in every case given them liberal facilities for exchanging their precarious tenancies for freeholds. On the other hand, with the exception of some State-owned swamps leased (not sold) by the Government on terms providing for their reclamation, all land colonized by Jews has been purchased, without Government intervention, from willing sellers in the open market. In point of fact, hardly any land has been bought from cultivators. The bulk of the purchases have been from absentee landlords residing in Syria or Egypt, and in such cases, as already seen, the interests of sitting tenants are strictly safeguarded.

There is not a word of truth in the statement that the Jews virtually monopolize official appointments. Exclusive of the retiring High Commissioner,

there is only one Jew among the heads of departments, Governors of districts and other leading officials. For the civil service as a whole (including the State railways), the figures are as follows:

	Senior Service	Junior Service	Total
Christians	231	1,212	1,443
Moslems	76	1,943	2,019
Jews	47	764	811
Others	2	6	8
 Total	356	3,925	4,281

It may be added that out of a total of 4,281 civil servants only 281 are British. All these figures are clearly set forth in the published Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.

It is customary for these misstatements to be eked out by a number of equally fantastic charges against the Jews. Thus, "the Zionist leaders" are alleged to have "frequently announced" that one of their main objects is to rebuild the Temple on the site of the Mosque of Omar. No Zionist leader has ever said anything of the kind.

Just as unwarrantable is the statement, unsupported by a shred of evidence, that "the riots in Jerusalem in 1920 were started by a Jew throwing a stone at the sacred flag of the Hebron Mosque." As for the Jaffa riots in 1921, the whole circumstances were investigated at the time by a board of inquiry composed of three high British officials, all of them Christians. Their findings, which are on record, are that in Jaffa itself,

We have no doubt that the Arabs were the first to turn this quarrel into a race conflict and that once this issue was joined they behaved with a savagery which cannot be condoned,

and that with regard to the attacks on a number of Jewish colonies,

In no one of these five cases can the conduct of the Arabs be excused or condoned.

As for the allegation that a British Army officer discovered "a large quantity of explosives" in a Jewish house in

Jaffa, the Board of Inquiry reported that these explosives proved, on investigation, to be "three and a half tins of explosives and one hundred detonators belonging to a building company and used for blasting operations."

THE ZIONIST AIM

These are fair samples of the malicious calumnies and the grotesque perversions of the truth with which a few mischief-makers are doing their best to keep the two races in Palestine apart. The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine is not the whim of a few irresponsible enthusiasts. It is an essential part of the policy which Great Britain is carrying out in accordance with the mandate formally conferred upon her by the League of Nations. It has received the equally formal endorsement of the United States, explicitly embodied in a joint resolution of both houses of Congress in 1922, and implicitly reaffirmed in the Anglo-American Convention relative to Palestine which has just been concluded.

What is it, then, that the Zionists are

really seeking? The best answer is to be found in the formal statement of the Zionist case submitted in July, 1922, to the Council of the League of Nations. The text of this statement was as follows:

The Jews demand no privilege, unless it be the privilege of rebuilding by their own efforts and sacrifices a land which, once the seat of a thriving and productive civilization, has long been suffered to remain derelict. They expect no favored treatment in the matter of political or religious rights. They assume as a matter of course that all the inhabitants of Palestine, be they Jews or non-Jews, will be in every respect on a footing of perfect equality. They seek no share in the Government beyond that to which they may be entitled under the Constitution as citizens of the country. They solicit no favors. They ask, in short, no more than an assured opportunity of peacefully building up their national home by their own exertions, and of succeeding on their merits.

This is the spirit in which the Jews are dedicating themselves to the up-building of Palestine, to the advantage of all sections of its inhabitants. Their hands are clean, and they have nothing to conceal.



The Jews' wailing wall, Jerusalem

The Nationalist Victory in the Philippine Elections

By NORBERT LYONS

Secretary to the United States Mission of the American Chamber of Commerce
of the Philippine Islands

FOR the third time since the enactment of the Philippine organic act, known as the Jones law, in 1916, the Philippine electorate went to the polls on June 2, 1925, and cast its ballots for insular, provincial and municipal officials, at the same time choosing one-half of the Philippine Senate and the full House of Representatives.

This triennial general election furnishes the only accurate indication of how the party in power is faring in the popular esteem, and also permits of an intelligent appraisal of many other phases of local politics. This time the results showed that the Nationalist-Consolidated Party won a rather clean-cut victory, inasmuch as it increased its plurality in the House and kept its control of the Senate, at the same time capturing a good majority of the gubernatorial posts. Yet, the Democratic opposition scored a remarkable gain in the Senate and also captured the cities of Manila and Cebu, the largest two centres of population in the islands. The Democrats now have a party strength of eight votes in the upper house, as against five previous to the election, out of a total of twenty-four. The Nationalist-Consolidated forces now command only thirteen votes, a bare majority, and this vote is made up of Quezon and Osmeña adherents, some of whom may at any time leave the coalition. Three members of the Senate have declared themselves as independents.

Probably the most significant campaign waged during the elections was that in the Fourth Senatorial District, comprising the City of Manila and the Provinces of Rizal, Laguna and Bataan. The Democratic standard bearer was At-

torney Juan Sumulong, a former member of the Philippine Commission and the same man who was defeated two years ago by Mayor Fernandez in the special election following the resignation of the Wood Cabinet. Running against Sumulong was Ramon Diokno, a prominent Manila attorney, backed by Senate President Quezon. Sumulong ran on a platform of "more business and less politics." He frankly opposed the agitation for immediate independence, stating from the platform repeatedly that economic independence and political independence must go hand in hand.

Sumulong at first was extremely conservative in his campaign speeches, but as the contest warmed up he voiced his opinion of the opposing triumvirate. In an impassioned speech on May 27 he declared that Quezon and Roxas placed their personal and party ambitions above the best interests of their country. "Quezon and Osmeña," he declared, "are the sort who would rather fight with a dagger in the dark than with a sword in the open." To the surprise of the Consolidated leaders, Sumulong won a signal victory over Diokno, and the entire Democratic ticket was elected with him. If, as was openly claimed by his opponents, Sumulong was the friend and protégé of General Wood, then the General received the definite endorsement of the people in the Manila metropolitan area.

QUEZON'S FAILURE

With Sumulong's victory, Manuel Quezon's political star suffered a serious decline. At the start of the campaign, each of the Nationalist-Consoli-

dated triumvirate was assigned an especially difficult district to work in. Osmeña was assigned to the Tenth District, his own, where Representative Vicente Sotto, a Democrat, was carrying on a determined campaign against Pedro Rodriguez, the coalition candidate. Speaker Roxas was given the difficult task of beating Governor Ruperto Montinola of Iloilo, President of the Democratic Party and a man of great prestige and popularity in the Seventh District. Quezon undertook the task of delivering the Manila (Fourth) District to the coalition, as he had done during the special election in 1923, held to fill the vacancy created by the selection of Senator Pedro Guevara as Resident Commissioner in Washington. Both Osmeña and Roxas brought in their candidates, but Quezon failed in his task, which was considered easier than that of either Osmeña or Roxas.

Roxas especially won important laurels as a political manager, for no one had the least notion that Governor Montinola could be defeated. The young Speaker, hitherto regarded as more or less of a nonentity and tool of the two bigger bosses, thus entered upon a new phase of his career as a real power in Philippine politics. He has been especially bitter in his attacks on Governor General Wood.

Besides losing in the Fourth District, Quezon also suffered defeats in the Third and Fifth Senatorial Districts, in which he was the chief campaign manager. In the Third District, former Secretary of the Interior José Laurel was elected, defeating Senator Antero Soriano, the regular organization candidate. Both of these candidates were Nacionalistas, but Laurel had proclaimed himself as an independent. Quezon nominally did not favor either candidate, but it was generally taken as an accepted fact that he would have preferred to see Soriano elected. In the Fifth District, Senator Sandiko, the Democratic candidate, triumphed, but his defeat would have been a no more difficult feat than the overthrow of

Montinola in the Seventh District, as achieved by Speaker Roxas.

The Democratic Party did not place candidates in the field in all districts, although it did run a greater number of candidates than ever before. Out of eighty-four contests for the lower house, for example, Democratic candidates ran only in forty-eight, and in a great many of the latter the Democratic opposition was only nominal. The Nationalist-Consolidated organization has been in power continuously now for eighteen years and during that time has built up a powerful political machine, controlling much patronage. It has entrenched itself firmly, especially in the more rural communities where caciquism has fuller sway than in the urban centres. In the larger centres of population and industry, where public opinion is better informed and more intelligent, the Democrats are largely in control; but the Quezon-Osmeña-Roxas triumvirate has obtained a firm grip on the Legislature and the central Government, which is extremely difficult to shake off.

A survey of the Senatorial elections shows that in the whole eleven districts the Democrats seriously ran candidates in only seven. In one district, the Eighth, a Democratic candidate ran nominally but with no expectation of winning. In four of these eight districts the Democrats won, while in one, the Fifth, an independent Nationalist-candidate with Democratic leanings was elected. Thus the Democratic opposition may be said to have scored a victory in the field which they actually contested. In the lower house elections the Democrats did not fare so well. Of the 48 candidates whom they presented, only 20 were elected. The Nationalist-Consolidated party elected 58 candidates out of 84 contests. The party standing in the Philippine Legislature is now as follows: Senate—Nationalists 13, Democrats 8, Independents 3 (including one appointive Senator, who will probably be superseded by a Democrat); House—Nationalists 58, Democrats 20, Independents 6, appointive 9. The political affiliations of the nine appointive mem-

bers of the House are not definitely known, but the majority have declared themselves as favoring the Democratic Party.

GENERAL WOOD'S POSITION

The excellent showing of the admittedly pro-Wood Democratic candidates is likely to have an important bearing upon the hitherto more or less strained relationship between the executive and legislative branches of the Philippine Government. With Quezon's prestige and influence badly impaired, opposition to the Wood policies is likely to lessen considerably. As Osmena and Roxas, who come from the Visayan region south of Manila, wield greater power, Quezon will have to look for support to the elements which have backed up the Democratic candidates or have given them their moral support. It would seem as if the Governor General and the power of the executive branch of the Government, which is within his control, were the only factors that can save Quezon's political future. Without their support he seems destined to take a secondary place in the triumvirate in which he has hitherto been the acknowledged leader and ruler.

Taken by and large, the moral character of the candidates in the last elections was not very high. Thus we find a pardoned ex-bandit leader in a neck-and-neck race with his rival for the Governorship in one of the most important provinces. The situation may perhaps be expressed best by quoting the following editorial from the June 20 issue of The Philippine Free Press, the weekly of largest circulation in the islands: "A lawyer who betrayed his clients and was therefore disbarred by the Supreme Court runs for Councilor of the City of Manila and is elected. Then he turns round and brags that the electorate didn't care about his disbarment or they wouldn't have elected him. Sad to say, it's probably the truth. For in the Philippines it seems to weigh little with the voters what record a candidate has."

Money was spent freely in the cam-

paign and many communities found in the election the salvation of their economic troubles. The following article from The Philippines Herald, a Filipino daily published in Manila, gives an illuminating snapshot of a politico-social nature in a dispatch from Cebu dated May 9:

When it is election time, even the people of a stony region run no danger of famine. The rice or corn crop may fail, but as long as there is money to spend, any amount of food-stuffs is readily purchasable.

At least, such seems to be the experience of the municipalities of Alegria, Malabuyok and Hinatilan in Cebu province. This year's corn crop has failed, and an unmistakable indication of this dearth is visible in the appreciable rise in prices. These three towns are in a mountainous region, so that the stony soil there can hardly produce enough food even for local consumption.

The inhabitants of that region have not as yet begun to feel the pinch of hunger, for what they have failed to extract from their own soil they can easily secure from other towns through liberal purchases—thanks to the intensity of the political campaign.

Among the successful candidates in the last election are a large number of representatives of the younger generation of Filipinos. First and foremost among these is Camilo Osias, who scored the largest majority of any candidate in the Senatorial elections, leading his opponent by 30,000 votes in a total of 85,000 cast in the Second District, comprising the Provinces of La Union, Pangasinan and Zambales. Osias was educated in the United States and rapidly rose in the ranks of the public system until he became Assistant Director of Education under the Harrison régime. Four years ago he was named President of the National University, the largest private institution of its kind in the islands, resigning a few months ago to devote his time to the senatorial campaign. Many look upon him as the man upon whom the mantle of Quezon is destined to descend. Approximately one-half of the outgoing lower house was re-elected. It is significant, however, that there are seventeen graduates of the Philippine University

law school in the new House of Representatives, and probably as many more graduates of other courses in that institution.

LITTLE VIOLENCE AND FRAUD

On the whole, excellent order was maintained during the campaign. Two deaths by shooting were recorded, both in Iloilo Province. In a free-for-all fight between colliding columns of rival paraders in Manila on May 10, many people were wounded, and Dr. Bernabe Bustamante, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate, was arrested and deprived by the police of his revolver for brandishing it before the crowd. Governor Villanueva of the Province of Oriental Negros was arrested for interfering illegally with political meetings. His nephew broke up a Democratic meeting at the point of his revolver. One of the Nationalist candidates for the Manila Municipal Board was arrested on a charge of seditious utterances. He was accused of having declared that "if the prayers of the people were answered, Governor Wood would long be dead by this time," and of having incited his hearers to rebellion. Numerous charges of fraud were launched by defeated candidates, but the number of these charges, if anything, was smaller than followed previous general elections.

Alignment of candidates and voters along lines of social difference was marked in certain districts during this year's election. This was particularly true in the central Luzon provinces of Bataan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija and Bulacan, where the so-called "poor men's" candidates generally won over the "rich men's" candidates. There was a distinct socialistic trend in the arguments of the proletarians. In the Province of Occidental Negros the influence of the numerous secret societies was also in the direction of socialism, and Ramon

Torres, the successful candidate in one of the districts, reported that the doctrine of his opponents was undiluted Bolshevism. The Conservative candidates, however, were uniformly victorious in this region. In Manila the Workingmen's Liberal Party ran several candidates, but they made a rather sorry showing. Nevertheless, plans were set on foot immediately after the election for the reorganization of the party with a view to electing a Senator in 1928. One of the proposals is to rule professional and university men out of the party.

One outgrowth of the election is a new movement having as its object the establishment of a semi-parliamentary form of government combining the best features of the European and American democratic models. This movement is sponsored by the friends of Senator Osmeña, who would have him assume the leading post of Secretary of the Interior under the new scheme. The latter office would correspond to that of Premier in a limited monarchy and would serve as a sort of liaison department between the executive and legislative branches of the Government. In connection with this movement, a tendency has also been manifest among the new members of the Legislature to limit and exercise control over the present board and almost autocratic functions and prerogatives of the heads of both houses. This movement, like the one just described, is aimed at the domination exercised until now by Senate President Quezon.

With returns practically complete, it is estimated that between 710,000 and 720,000 votes were cast during this election, or about 80 per cent. of the total registration of nearly 900,000. The Fourth Senatorial District alone, including Manila, cast about 100,000 votes, leading all the other ten. Total registration was 707,000 in 1919 and 813,000 in 1922.

Cancer Still Unconquered by Science

By WATSON DAVIS
Managing Editor, Science Service.

NO disease of man is being more diligently fought in research laboratories than cancer. And there probably has been no more baffling and intriguing field of medical research than that which deals with the cause, prevention and treatment of the malignant growths that plague man and animals. Often in the last quarter century the cry has gone out to a suffering public that "cancer is conquered." Often this was born of hope inspired by quackery. Less frequently it was the expansive interpretation of some creditable scientific work over which some one has become too enthusiastic. The multitude of research workers here and abroad have continued their experiments confident that some day they will discover the secret of cancer and prevent its ravages.

The latest hopeful laboratory report that has attracted widespread public and scientific attention comes from England, where Dr. W. E. Gye of the Medical Research Council and J. E. Barnard, F. R. S., have just published papers on the causation of tumors. In response to the prominent headlines accorded the British announcements, physicians have administered an antidote to the hopes of the public by saying that it will probably be years before the Gye-Barnard experiments save a human life, if they ever do result in a treatment for human cancer. This cooling advice is justified, and in fact the British scientists make no claims that they have a panacea for human ills. It does seem, however, that Dr. Gye and Mr. Barnard may have made one of the most important contributions to the history of the cancer problem. Of course it must be realized that their results rest heavily on the workers that preceded

them, just as all real scientific work does, yet they have seen things that men have never seen before and done things that have never before been accomplished.

Most striking is the demonstration by Dr. Gye that the development of cancer demands two factors, one largely internal, the other largely external. He worked with a chicken sarcoma that Dr. Peyton Rous of the Rockefeller Institute, New York City, in 1910 succeeded in transmitting from fowl to fowl. It was Dr. Rous also who found that the causative factor is evidently an organism and a filter-passing; that is, so small that it can creep through the very minute interstices of the porcelain filter that will stop such well-known microscopic germs as the typhoid bacillus and other common enemies of man. What Dr. Gye has done is to show that the supposed minute filter-passing organism when cultured with free access to air was innocuous. This was true in spite of the fact that when cultured in another manner cancer is produced by the liquid of the culture. He also showed that when portions of the sarcoma were ground up, filtered, and the filtrate dosed with chloroform, it produced no tumors, although when not medicated it was dangerous. Thus he had two potent agencies rendered impotent by special treatment.

Then, like the magician on the stage who with a flourish combines two colorless liquids and gets a blood-red draught, Dr. Gye mixed the two inert fractions and, lo! the mixture was capable of producing typical chicken sarcoma. His technic and method were successful not alone with Rous's chicken sarcoma, but with transmissible tumors of rat and mouse. In one case he caused

a culture from a human cancer to aid in the development of a rat tumor. This fact brings out strikingly the new conception in infective disease that is involved. Here is a case where two factors must join forces to produce disease. But more striking is the fact that the specificity, the ability to reproduce the same kind of tumor, resides not in the ultra-minute organism or virus, but in the "internal" factor, probably a chemical substance. Dr. Barnard developed the means of examining with the ultra-microscope the "ultra-visible" virus that plays its deadly part in the production of cancer. His work on the virus of Rous's sarcoma was more or less incidental to investigations of the bovine pleuro-pneumonia microbe, but the claim is made that the sarcoma germ is similar. His work is a continuation of man's penetration into the realm of the infinitesimal.

Meanwhile in other parts of the world other facts about cancer are being discovered. A definite poisonous principle in cancers and tumors, long suspected but until now undemonstrated, has been shown to exist, according to the claims of three German researchers, Dr. Syderhelm and Dr. W. Lampe, who worked together, and Dr. V. E. Merteus, who conducted his investigations independently. Dr. Syderhelm and Dr. Lampe made alcoholic extracts of cancerous tissue, dissolved the precipitate they obtained in salt solution and injected mice with it. The extract proved to be

very poisonous to the mice, but only when the operation of extraction was carried on at a comparatively low temperature. At ordinary room temperatures no result was obtained. They conclude that the poisonous principle is destroyed at ordinary temperatures by an autolytic enzym, or self-digestive ferment, that comes out in the extract along with the toxin. Dr. Merteus made an extract from tumorous tissue with weak alcoholic solution and found that the white powder left behind upon evaporation was poisonous to mice and guinea pigs.

Another German scientist, Dr. A. Werechinski, has obtained results that seem to confirm the view that cancerous and tumorous growths are similar to embryonic tissue, in that they are simply masses of rapidly growing cells; but that they have "run wild," and escaped from the controls of normal growth. Dr. Werechinski injected finely minced embryonic kidney and adrenal tissue under the skin of a guinea pig, which subsequently developed characteristic tumorous growth in two different parts of the body.

Until the medical laboratories have elaborated and applied the cancer discoveries that are undoubtedly being made there the public can best combat cancer by submitting to early diagnosis by physicians followed by early surgery or radiation in the event cancer is discovered.

Recent Scientific Developments

SO vast and international in its scope has scientific research become that unless cooperation and interchanging of information and results can be materialized much will be lost to the world. For the purpose of making possible such international cooperation the International Research Council was organized six years ago in July, 1919. At that time defeated Germany and her allies were excluded from the international

scientific fellowship in which she played such an important part before the war. Now many nations and scientists believe that war hatreds have been sufficiently softened that all the nations can be invited to sit down at the same table for scientific discussion. In fact, the scientists of the Central Powers very quickly were admitted into many international scientific meetings on an equal footing with the scientists of more for-

tunate countries. Yet the bars are still up so far as formal organization of international science is concerned. The International Research Council at its third meeting held at Brussels in July failed in an effort to admit to this international organization the countries not included in the ranks of the Allies and neutrals of the war period.

Although there is a minority, represented chiefly by France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland, that favors the continued exclusion of their former enemies, it was the method of voting rather than this faction that prevents the opening of the Council's doors to a truly international membership. The rules of the union, composed of thirty-one members since the recent admission of Latvia and Tunis, require a two-thirds vote of all member countries for a modification of the rules of the Council. A two-thirds majority means fifty-three votes and there were only fifty-two votes represented at the Brussels meeting. Dr. Vernon Kellogg, permanent secretary of the National Research Council, who headed the United States delegation, voiced his disappointment and made clear his apprehension at the state of affairs.

DIMINISHED FISH SUPPLIES

Nothing is more international than the sea which touches the shores of all lands. From earliest times man has looked upon the oceans as storehouses of food. The question has been raised as to whether the food resources of the sea are being exhausted in the same way that man is cutting the forests and killing wild game, exhausting the fertility of our soil, and emptying our mines and oil wells. While the sea is not as barren as it looks, its supplies are by no means as inexhaustible as some would have us believe. This has been quite forcefully demonstrated in the fisheries of the North Sea, Iceland and other areas. From 1906 to 1913, the average catch of a British trawler per day's absence from port ranged between 1,837 and 2,027 pounds. As a result

of the restrictions on fishing operations during the Great War, the fisheries were afforded an opportunity to recuperate. With the renewal of operations in 1919, the average daily catch increased to 3,483 pounds, or 80 per cent. greater than the pre-war average. In 1921 it had declined to 2,173 pounds and 1923 to 1,568 pounds. Thus, within a five-year period of fishing the increment gained during a five-year closed season was wiped out and new low levels reached. The record of British trawlers operating in Iceland waters is similar. The average daily catch per day's absence for the years 1906-1913 ranged within the limits of 4,883 and 5,376 pounds. In 1919 it increased to 7,638 pounds, falling to 4,872 pounds in 1923.

According to Dr. Lewis Radcliffe, United States Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries, this depletion of certain areas and expansion of operations emphasizes the need of extensive studies of the life histories and habits of the important marine fishes to prevent their ultimate exhaustion. Fortunately, the nations are beginning to realize the importance of such work and to expand their program of scientific research. Provided trouble is taken properly to conserve and regulate the utilization of the natural resources of the sea, a billion dollars annually is the wealth that the Pacific Ocean should yield to man.

Many forms of sea food now considered of scant value have great possibilities, and in view of the depletion of supplies of shad, sturgeon, salmon, lobsters, crabs and other forms that are now used, the neglected ones may come into importance. An examination of our fishery statistics reveals the absence of some sea foods and a very small catch of others which reach a considerable magnitude in the fisheries of European countries. The 1924 landings by fishing vessels in Great Britain include over 6,000,000 pounds of anglers or monk fish, valued at \$230,000. Our Atlantic Coast fishermen annually throw overboard about 10,000,000 pounds of this fish which has a higher nutritive value than the "sacred" cod.—W. D.

Armies and Navies of the World

THE Information Section, Navy Department, Washington, has sent the following communication to the Editor:

On Page 625 of the July, 1925, issue of CURRENT HISTORY there appears a table of naval construction programs as reported by the British Admiralty during April. This tabular report is very much in error so far as the United States is concerned.

For the correction of this table the Information Section, Navy Department, is forwarding herewith a table showing the comparative naval strengths of the five signatory powers to the Washington Treaty. The tables inclosed show ships built and building, as well as the actual numbers of all types of naval vessels on a 5-5-3 basis.

* * * The British table lists several ships of the United States which have been authorized since 1916, but which have not been appropriated for. It is the practice in Great Britain and Japan to include appropriations for construction along with the authorization for building same. In the United States authorization and appropriation for construction are separate. The inclosed table, as you will note, takes account of ships built and building or appropriated for, and gives the true status of ships laid down or projected.

The table referred to appears on this page.

THE UNITED STATES

THE War Department on July 25 announced the completion of new mobilization plans, to be operative in case of any emergency. The chief feature of the plans was the stipulation that an adequacy of reserve officers be assigned to inactive units of the regular army so that should need arise, the full nine-division strength of the regulars could be recruited up to a war footing with a minimum of delay. The army, as at present constituted comprises three active divisions and six reinforced brigades. The War Department's provision that full division quotas of reserve officers be assigned to the six brigades has additional significance. It means that

Vessels Laid Down or Appropriated for Since Feb. 6, 1922

Washington Conference Limiting Naval Armaments

Prepared by Information Section, Office of Naval Intelligence, Navy Department,

June 1, 1925

	Laid Down	Appropriated	Total
UNITED STATES			
Battleships			
Light cruisers, first line	2	2	2
Cruiser mine-layers .....	..	..	..
Destroyer leaders .....	..	..	..
Destroyers .....	..	..	..
Submarines, all classes	1	2	3
Gunboats .....	..	..	6
Mine-sweepers .....	..	..	..
Tankers .....	..	..	..
Submarine tenders .....	..	..	..
Supply ships .....	..	..	..
Total.....			11
BRITISH EMPIRE			
Battleships	2	..	2
Light cruisers, first line	5	2	7
Cruiser mine-layers	1	..	1
Destroyer leaders .....	..	..	..
Destroyers	2	..	2
Submarines, all classes	1	..	1
Gunboats .....	..	..	..
Mine-sweepers .....	..	..	..
Tankers	?	..	2
Submarine tenders .....	..	..	..
Supply ships .....	..	..	..
Total.....			13
JAPAN			
Battleships			
Light cruisers, first line	10	2	12
Cruiser mine-layers .....	..	..	..
Destroyer leaders .....	..	..	..
Destroyers	23	12	35
Submarines, all classes	20	10	30
Gunboats	4	..	4
Mine-sweepers	6	..	6
Tankers	3	..	3
Submarine tenders	2	..	2
Supply ships	1	..	1
Total.....			93
FRANCE			
Battleships			
Light cruisers, first line	5	..	5
Cruiser mine-layers .....	..	..	..
Destroyer leaders	6	..	6
Destroyers	18	..	18
Submarines, all classes	14	9	23
Gunboats .....	..	..	..
Mine-sweepers .....	..	..	..
Tankers	4	..	4
Submarine tenders .....	..	..	..
Supply ships .....	..	..	..
Total.....			56
ITALY			
Battleships			
Light cruisers, first line	2	..	2
Cruiser mine-layers .....	..	..	..
Destroyer leaders .....	..	..	..
Destroyers	14	2	16
Submarines, all classes	6	6	12
Gunboats .....	..	..	..
Mine-sweepers	3	3	6
Tankers .....	..	..	..
Submarine tenders .....	..	..	..
Supply ships .....	..	..	..
Total.....			36

the three divisions now on war footing will be continued on their present basis and will not be split up for expansion.

Pursuant to the announcement of the new policy, orders were issued to all corps area and branch commanders to work out the tables of reserve officers necessary to expand the army to war strength. It was stated that only reserve officers who had World War experience would be eligible for these assignments, this stipulation being made because of the likelihood that these forces would be called quickly into action. War Department officials further announced that a limited number of regular army officers also would be assigned to the inactive units, with non-commissioned officers, for essential key positions. It was stated that similar arrangements would be made with respect to the artillery, air service, cavalry and other affiliated services.

GREAT BRITAIN

THE British navy cruiser program for the fiscal year ended April, 1926, was outlined in the House of Commons by Premier Baldwin on July 23. The Premier announced that the Government proposed to build seven vessels during the next two years. Two of these ships, he said, would be laid down in October, two in next February and three in the year following. In addition Great Britain's construction of other auxiliary craft would proceed at the rate of nine destroyers and six submarines annually, commencing in 1926; it was indicated also that certain other unspecified auxiliary vessels would be laid down. In explaining the new program, the Premier said that some of the projected cruisers would be of the 10,000-ton type, with others smaller and less expensive displacing approximately 8,000 tons.

Premier Baldwin made a warm appeal for Parliamentary support for these proposed additions and intimated that the Admiralty would meet the expenses involved by economies in other departments. After protracted discussion the House of Commons approved of the Government's building program on

Aug. 4. During the debate the fact was disclosed that the program called for an outlay of \$290,000,000.

FRANCE

SUBSTANTIAL increases in the equipment of the French Navy were authorized with the passage by the Senate, on July 7, of the new navy bill. This bill provided for the second part of the French program of naval construction, the first part of which has already been completed. Spirited discussion in the Senate preceded the passage of the bill. One sponsor of the measure said the present navy was inadequate and quoted statistics indicating that France's fleet fell from 816,000 tons in 1914 to 590,000 at the time of the armistice. Representatives of the Naval Commission also urged the passage of the new bill, asserting that although they did not necessarily anticipate a war, "there is a minimum of new building which we cannot go below." The measure, as enacted, authorized the construction of a cruiser of 10,000 tons, three torpedo boat destroyers of 2,500 tons, two submarine mine-sweepers, one surface mine sweeper, four torpedo boats, and seven submarines.

The British Secretary of State for War made public in London on July 2, the following table as showing the present active and reserve strengths of the French army by branches of the service:

Arm of Service.	Active Strength.	Reserve Strength.
Infantry	380,000	2,776,000
Cavalry	55,000	616,000
Artillery	104,000	944,000
Engineers	30,000	280,000
Air Service.....	40,000	200,000
Intendance and Administrative	57,000	464,000
War Office, Staff, &c.....	10,000	....
Military Schools.....	10,000	....
Total.....	686,000	5,280,000

The Secretary's office appended to the table a note to the effect that, "in calculating the reserve strengths a mobilization affecting twenty classes had been assumed."

A Month's World History

Events in the United States

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Chairman of the Board of Current History Associates, and

ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE

Professor of Government, Harvard University

PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE remained at White Court, Swampscott, Mass., throughout the month. He made no formal public addresses, setting forth the policies of the Administration, but the stream of callers and house guests, including several United States Senators and other influential Republican leaders and high officers of the Government, indicated continuous study of public questions.

The President seemed especially interested in possible economies in the military and naval establishments. Secretary of War John W. Weeks, whom the President visited at his Summer residence where he is convalescing from his recent illness, was reported to have declared that the War Department needed a general overhauling; and Senator Frederick Hale of Maine, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, was requested, following a visit at White Court, to investigate possibilities for further economies in the Navy Department.

THE WORLD COURT

Several of the President's visitors during the month discussed with him the prospects for the entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. Press reports (July 29) indicated, according to an unofficial poll, that a majority of the Senate would favor American adhesion to the Court, but not without reservations which might go so far beyond those originally proposed by President Harding and Secretary Hughes as to make Ameri-

can adhesion unacceptable to the nations already members of the Court.

Senator George W. Pepper of Pennsylvania, a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, who visited the President, predicted that the Senate at the coming session would adopt a resolution putting the United States into the Court. He said he was working with members of the Senate and other advocates of American membership in the Court on a proposal which would be acceptable to the nations now members of the Court and at the same time would meet with the approval of Americans opposed to joining the League of Nations.

On Aug. 4 Senator Irvine L. Lenroot of Wisconsin, also a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, expressed the belief that at least seventy-five Senators would support the World Court proposal, if the Administration stood firm for the Harding-Hughes-Coolidge reservations, but that if further compromises were made the protocol might fail of ratification.

LAW AND ORDER

On July 29 the first steps were taken at a meeting in the New York office of Judge Elbert H. Gary, President of the United States Steel Corporation, to organize a National Crime Commission for the purpose of combating the unparalleled growth of crime. In Chicago, according to press reports, there is on the average more than a murder a day. In St. Louis, according to an investigation by Mr. Richard Washburn Child, former Ambassador to Italy,

there are more murders than in the whole of England and Wales; in Philadelphia there are more murders than in the whole of Canada. A life insurance company reports that for every 146 murders in the United States there are sixty-nine indictments, thirty-seven convictions, and one execution. The meeting at Judge Gary's office was called to consider a plan for diminishing crime, presented by Mr. Washburn and his associate in the investigation, Mr. Mark O. Prentiss. It was attended by a large number of prominent public officials and business men, including Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York, former Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, and others. Former Attorney General George W. Wickersham was made Chairman of the Organization Committee. Plans were laid for pushing the organization with vigor. It was announced on Aug. 12 that F. Trubee Davison, an Assemblyman of New York, had been elected Chairman of the commission.

PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT

General Lincoln C. Andrews, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in charge of prohibition enforcement, was obliged to postpone the date when his proposed general reorganization of the system of enforcement would become effective, from Aug. 1 to Sept. 1. Objections to the plan for the division of the country into enforcement districts compelled the modification of district boundaries in some cases, but the number of districts remained fixed at twenty-four, twenty-two within the Continental United States and two outside, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Recommendations of candidates for appointment as District Prohibition Directors from politicians and others came in in great numbers, at one time at the rate of more than a hundred a day.

It was announced at the Treasury Department on Aug. 3 that Prohibition Commissioner Roy A. Haynes, head of the prohibition unit since his appointment by President Harding in 1921, would cease to have control of dry law enforcement on Sept. 1, and that thereafter the twenty-four district prohibition

directors to be appointed would act on all questions relating to the enforcement of the law without the "advice, concurrence or approval" of the Prohibition Commissioner. Thus Commissioner Haynes, without being actually removed from office, was stripped of his powers and relegated to a purely advisory position.

General Andrews let it be known that under the new system of dry law enforcement the Federal prohibition forces would concentrate their energies more largely than before upon the prevention of rum-running into the United States from abroad and between the several States. The Federal Government, he believed, should stop the supply as much as possible at the source, leaving to the State and local authorities the curbing of petty bootlegging and other local distribution of liquor. Meanwhile increased activity was shown by United States District Attorneys in clearing the dockets of the Federal Courts of pending liquor cases, especially in New York City, and by the officials of the prohibition unit in ridding the service of incompetent and corrupt agents. More stringent regulations were put into effect on Aug. 1 for preventing the diversion of industrial alcohol into the hands of bootleggers, and criminal proceedings were instituted against corrupt local officials in certain localities.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

During the course of the month President Coolidge found occasion to let his views become known on various political matters which had provoked discussion and controversy. He opposed suggestions that the Federal Trade Commission be abolished, declaring that it rendered useful service to the public as "the policeman of business."

The President also emphasized his belief that the consolidation of railroads is one of the most important of pending problems. Though not convinced that the time had yet come for compulsory consolidation, as advocated by Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, he strongly favored voluntary consolidations, as proposed by the promoters of the Nickel

Plate merger, provided they are approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The problem of aid for the farmers was discussed by several of the White Court visitors. Senators Charles Curtis of Kansas and Charles S. Deneen of Illinois reported that agriculture in the Middle West was prosperous and farmers were contented. They doubted if any farm relief were necessary except, perhaps, the enactment of a cooperative marketing law.

IMMIGRATION

Interest in immigration centred upon the establishment at the United States Consulate, at London, on Aug. 6, of a new immigration examination department. It was announced that all persons desiring to emigrate from Great Britain to the United States, would be examined at this bureau.

THE CONGRESS

Vice President Charles G. Dawes continued his campaign for a reform of the rules of the Senate. Speaking at Denver on July 22, under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, General Dawes repeated his criticism of the present Senate procedure and advocated a change that would enable a majority, instead of two-thirds, to end debate. Meanwhile President Coolidge was reported to have come to the conclusion that the continuance of the campaign in favor of a reform of the Senate rules was threatening the harmony of the Republican party in the Senate. The President, foreseeing dissension enough next Winter over the World Court issue and other matters, was represented as wishing to postpone the reform of the rules to some more suitable occasion.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL

Reverberations of the Scopes trial were heard under the shadow of the Capitol at Washington. One Loren H. Wittner, a clerk in the Treasury Department, instituted and then abandoned legal proceedings designed to test the

so-called Summers amendment to the last District of Columbia appropriation act. This prohibits the payment of salaries to public school officials and teachers in the District who permit the teaching, among other matters, of "disrespect to the Holy Bible."

On Aug. 8 the long-heralded Ku Klux Klan parade took place in Washington, D. C. The size and character of this demonstration by the Klan had been kept a carefully guarded secret, and the widest variations existed in the published estimates of the number of marchers who would be in line. The parade started at 3 P. M. and ended shortly before dark. The police estimated that from 50,000 to 60,000 men and women had taken part.

PARTY POLITICS

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor announced on Aug. 2 that in the future it would lend no aid nor comfort to third party movements in American politics, but on the contrary would adhere to a strictly non-partisan policy. "The launching of third party movements," the Council declared, "has been proved wasted effort and injurious to the desire to elect candidates with favorable records. The 1922 and 1924 political campaigns definitely determined this fact." The Council will recommend to the next convention of the Federation that the organization enter the Congressional campaign of 1926 and, regardless of political affiliation, seek to bring about the nomination and election of candidates who are friendly to organized labor.

The death of William Jennings Bryan called forth tributes to his character and appreciations of his political career from all sides. President Coolidge on July 27 sent a telegram of condolence to Mrs. Bryan in which he said in part: "Mr. Bryan has been a prominent figure in public affairs for a third of a century. He has been a leader in the advocacy of many moral reforms and was representative of the effort for purity in our political life. * * * The sincerity of his motives was beyond dispute. * * *"

The United States: Social and Economic Developments

By DAVIS R. DEWEY

Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

PUBLIC FINANCE

PROMINENT Republican and Democratic leaders alike went on record in advocating a reduction in taxation. On July 15 Senator Joseph F. Robinson of Arkansas, Democratic minority leader, announced that he wished to see taxes cut all along the line, including the surtax and the abolition of inheritance taxes. He was followed by Senator Curtis of Kansas, the Republican leader, who in conference with President Coolidge on July 20 declared that a \$300,000,000 reduction was justified and that possibly \$500,000,000 might be achieved if further economies were enforced. The more independent Republican, Senator Norris of Nebraska, on the following day favored the elimination of income taxes on incomes of \$5,000 or less. Senator Copeland of New York, Democrat, on the same day declared that he also favored the removal of taxes on incomes of \$5,000 or less, as well as the abolition of all nuisance taxes, inheritance taxes, and the reduction of the surtax.

Chairman Madden of the House Committee on Appropriations on July 31 advanced an even more definite program; he recommended the reduction of the normal rate from 2 to 1 per cent. on incomes under \$5,000 and corresponding reductions in the higher brackets. He also proposed that the combined normal tax and surtax be limited to 20 per cent., and further recommended the abolition of most of the miscellaneous taxes, as those on theatre admissions, club dues and automobiles.

The Bureau of Internal Revenue ordered that income tax records be available for public inspection on Sept. 1.

The foreign Governments, according to press despatches of July 30, protested

against the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to lay an embargo on all merchandise of a foreign manufacturer who declined to open his books to American Treasury agents seeking data as to the cost of production.

BUSINESS

Business during the Summer months on the whole was active. Although there were latent fears that the upward lift would not continue, industry and commercial enterprise in most lines maintained a high level. The agricultural situation, however, was not quite so favorable. On Aug. 10 the Department of Agriculture cut the prospective corn crop 145,000,000 bushels, on account of drought. Estimates of several other important crops were also reduced. According to the Department of Agriculture farmers received a gross income of \$12,136,000,000 for the year ended June 30, the largest since 1921. This represented an increase of 7.5 per cent. over 1924.

Much to the surprise of those who expected that the Federal Trade Commission, in view of recent changes in its personnel and rules, would adopt a more liberal policy, the Commission on Aug. 7, by a vote of 3 to 2, ordered that the International Shoe Company of St. Louis should within sixty days dispose of its stock holdings in the McElwain Company of Boston. The order stated that the buying up of a New England concern by a western firm was in violation of the anti-trust act, inasmuch as it eliminated from competition the largest competitor in men's dress shoes.

A committee of the American Petroleum Institute after an exhaustive investigation reported on Aug. 6 to the Federal Oil Conservation Board that the oil supplies of the United States are ade-

quate for all needs in the near future. It estimated that petroleum recoverable by present methods would provide 5,300,000,000 barrels, and there would then remain to be recovered by improved processes 26,000,000,000 barrels. There is also the additional resource in oil shale. In June the production of crude petroleum reached a record figure, amounting to a daily average of 2,223,000 barrels.

American financial interests made further heavy investments abroad. On July 17 a \$75,000,000 loan to Australia was underwritten, carrying a 5 per cent. interest at a price of 99½. This is the first financing for the Commonwealth of Australia in the United States. Announcement was made of the probability of a loan of \$50,000,000 to Czechoslovakia, and \$25,000,000 to Bavaria.

It was also reported (July 27) that American bankers had joined British financial firms in the purchase of the Stinnes holdings in the Deutsche Luxemburgische Company, engaged in the production of coal, coke, iron and steel. This was stated to be the first direct incursion of American capital into German industry.

TRANSPORTATION

The conflict between railroads and private bus operators is rapidly extending. The Supreme Court of Appeals in West Virginia, in July, enjoined the owners of taxicabs from operating between towns where a substantial part of the route was served by electric railways. In Connecticut the Public Utility Commission on Aug. 5 granted the first application of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad to operate motor buses. This will lead to discontinuing branch railroad lines which are unprofitable. The company also made application on Aug. 3 for similar rights in Massachusetts.

The New York, Westchester & Boston Railway Company on July 19 announced the organization of an extensive system of motor buses, to operate between New York City and northern sub-

urbs, and thus develop facilities between railway stations and communities not enjoying railway routes.

In view of existing conflicts of authority, the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce in July advocated Federal bus interstate regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission, and that this should be given power to grant or refuse certificates of public convenience.

In order, it was stated, to make anthracite substitutes available to house-holders in Eastern States at reasonable prices, the Interstate Commerce Commission on Aug. 12 handed down a decision requiring sharp reductions in railroad rates on Virginia smokeless coal to New England and North Atlantic seaboard ports.

The Shipping Board on Aug. 4 sold to the Ford Motor Company 200 vessels, most of them for scrap; and, according to press dispatches of Aug. 6, Mr. Ford purchased the Stout Airplane Metal Company, located at the Ford Air Port, Dearborn, Mich., and will operate it as a division of the Ford Motor Company.

A roaming Congressional Committee in July and August held hearings on the operation of the new postal rates, which are thought by some to be an important factor in the postal deficit. This amounted to \$37,149,000 in the fiscal year ended in June—\$13,149,000 greater than in the preceding year. The new rates, however, have been in operation only since April 15; and there still is uncertainty as to how they will work out from a revenue point of view. Many witnesses before the committee protested more particularly against the second and third class rates, which are especially burdensome to small dailies and weeklies. Business firms vigorously objected to the increased rates on samples, parcel post and advertising matter. Metropolitan publishers also complained, for the new rates restricted distribution beyond the nearer zones. Objection was made to the discrimination in rates between Government post cards and private mailing cards.

LABOR

The joint wage conference at Atlantic City between miners and operators in the anthracite coal fields extended from July 9 to Aug. 4. The results were fruitless and the miners refused arbitration. The present wage agreement expires on Sept. 1. The principal issues demanded by the miners were an increase of wages and the check-off, by which the coal companies deduct miners' union dues from their pay to be turned over to the unions. The operators declared that increase of wages sought for meant an addition of \$100,000,000 in costs which could not be carried by the industry, and that the individual consumer could not stand an increase of \$3 a ton which would be passed to him.

Labor extended its activities in the field of finance. The Federation Bank of New York on Aug. 2 raised its capital and surplus to \$1,500,000. Of more dramatic interest was the long-term lease of the Tiffany Building on Union Square by the Amalgamated Bank of New York, owned and controlled by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. On July 21 a conference of labor leaders authorized the formation of the Union Life Insurance Company, with its offices in Washington. It was stated that existing plans of group insurance tend to tie the employer and employee together to the disadvantage of the latter. Purchases of stock are limited to union members, and local and international unions. The new company will issue individual as well as group policies. On Aug. 6, the Illinois branch of the United Mine Workers announced plans to sell coal to Chicago trade unionists direct from the union-owned mines at Herrin, Illinois.

The minimum wage movement has received another set-back, this time in Kansas. The Supreme Court of that State on July 11 denied the power of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations to determine a minimum wage for women and minors.

The long-continued depression in the textile industry led to a widespread reduction of wages in textile mills in New

England in July and August. On July 25 the American Woolen Company lowered wages 10 per cent., the first cut since December, 1920. This cut was followed by scores of other mills. On the whole labor accepted the reductions and but few strikes were reported.

EDUCATION

The Scopes trial ended July 21. The defendant was convicted and fined \$100. Few trials have attracted so wide an interest. There were more than 100 reporters present and two from London sent daily cables; 15,000,000 words were sent over the commercial wires of the Western Union Telegraph Company in addition to despatches over private wires. Owing to court rulings the main issue of the relation of evolution to the religious teaching of the Bible was not fully presented to the jury. On Aug. 4 counsel announced that an effort would be made to remove the case to the Federal courts. Governor Peay of Tennessee in a statement Aug. 5 announced that the State of Tennessee would combat every question that could be raised on appeal. On July 29 the House of Representatives of Georgia voted down overwhelmingly a bill to prohibit the teaching of evolution in the common schools of Georgia.

The Wisconsin University Board of Regents on Aug. 5 voted 9 to 6 that henceforth no gifts should be accepted from incorporated endowments. This was to apply to such organizations as the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations. Announcement was made on Aug. 9 that plans were being made to establish a medical foundation at the University of Pittsburgh at a cost of \$14,000,000.

Dr. Max Mason, Professor of Mathematical Physics at the University of Wisconsin, according to the announcement made public on Aug. 18, has been elected President of the University of Chicago, succeeding Dr. Ernest D. Burton, whose death occurred in May. President Mason will begin his administration on Oct. 1, 1925.

Mexico and Central America

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

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REPORTS emanating from Mexico during the month under survey indicate a general prevalence of unrest in that republic; this was ascribed to the aggressiveness of the agrarians and spread of communistic ideas in Mexico. A five-hour battle between agrarians and the administrator of a ranch in the State of Puebla in the latter part of June resulted in the enforced retirement of the agrarians; subsequently Federal troops were sent to protect the ranch. At a conference of prominent land owners of the State of Durango, early in July, President Calles, it was reported, promised to attempt a solution of the agrarian problem. The President, it was stated, hoped to satisfy the aspirations of the peasants without injuring the interests of the land owners. President Calles stated that under his plan he required funds for developing and improving lands to be allotted to peasants; he admitted that the problem was complicated by conflicting agrarian State laws. State troops were ordered out in the State of Chihuahua, early in July, in an effort to prevent a clash between agrarians and land owners. Some of the land owners claimed that title to their properties dated from 1733.

Senator Monzón of San Luis Potosí, the only member of Congress who belongs to the Communist Party, bitterly attacked United States Ambassador Sheffield, on July 1, in a speech which he made before the Permanent Commission of Congress. In this speech Senator Monzón vigorously upheld communism. He was answered by Senator Rodarte and Deputy Padilla. The former expressed the conviction that Communists who received orders from foreign Governments should be re-

garded and treated as traitors. The latter commended American capital for looking to the welfare of labor and stated that practical communism in Mexico would mean only the sharing of misery—not the division of property—among all the inhabitants of the nation. Secretary of the Interior Valenzuela issued a statement on July 2, declaring that Communist propaganda would not be tolerated. His statement added that Mexican Communists who resorted to activities against the laws of Mexico would be tried and punished according to the law, and that foreign propaganda agents of Communist organizations would be deported at once.

Late in July owners of urban properties in the State of San Luis Potosí complained in a formal communication to Secretary Valenzuela that Governor Manrique of San Luis Potosí was backing a syndicate of rent payers which was alleged to be openly spreading Communist propaganda. In their complaint the property owners called attention to Secretary Valenzuela's warning of July 2, and enclosed a copy of a State law which showed, they declared, that "the law is purely communistic." It was alleged that "the law gives legal form for the occupation of property, for making common use of property without payment of any rent except what was actually required as taxes, and paying this obligation only because Governor Manrique is unable to remove the Federal tax." To General Cedillo of the Federal Army, who is entrusted with the duty of trying to check communism in that State, Governor Manrique, it was alleged, stated that he wanted all the inhabitants of San Luis to live rent free, and planned further laws "to help the proletariat."

The property owners alleged that the new rent law was "nothing but a copy of the ideas of Governor Manrique and a part of the Communist program which the Governor is developing." Another allegation of the property owners was as follows: "Governor Manrique disposes of lands without taking the law into consideration, has taken implements and made agricultural property for his friends and followers, which is destroying agriculture. The introduction of Communist doctrines has resulted in the closure of almost all factories." Resentment also was expressed by the property owners because Governor Manrique, upon receipt of the news of the death of Lenin, decreed official mourning rites in the City of San Luis Potosí for the Bolshevik leader and because similar rites were decreed upon the first anniversary of Lenin's death. This, the property owners asserted, was "damaging to the city, the nation and the Administration of General Calles."

The financial condition of the Mexican Government continued to show improvement during July. Secretary of the Treasury Pani stated to newspaper correspondents that as a result of savings effected since the inauguration of President Calles on Dec. 1, 1924, the Mexican Government, on July 19, last, had on deposit more than 39,000,000 pesos. It was further announced that the Calles Government has paid a debt of 11,500,000 pesos owed to the Government employes as back salaries, and had also paid two-thirds of a debt of 8,500,000 pesos owed to Mexico City merchants. Counting the payment of these debts and the amount on deposit, the Calles Government, since Dec. 1, 1924, has effected an actual saving of over 60,000,000 pesos. The national budget for 1925 calls for 281,863,000 pesos.

Rumors that Mexico was planning to repudiate the Lamont-De la Huerta Mexican debt readjustment agreement of 1922 were denied by Secretary of the Treasury Pani late in July. Secretary Pani was later quoted as having said

that "negotiations are being conducted with the International Committee of Bankers to secure modification of certain clauses of the Lamont-De la Huerta agreement, but up to the present no date has been mentioned for the cancellation of the agreement."

In an effort to stimulate tourist travel to Mexico, the Mexican Government early in July granted a concession for the construction in the heart of the Mexican capital of a first-class hotel, which is to be modeled after modern hotels in the United States. Under the direction and within the precincts of several Mexican States construction work was started during July on a new highway between the United States border and the Mexican capital. This thoroughfare is to be part of a great international highway which will be known as the International Meridian Highway, and which will extend, when completed, from Canada to Mexico City, passing through the Mexican towns of Monterey, Saltillo, San Luis Potosí and Queretaro.

The National Highways Commission late in July contracted with Byrne Brothers Company of Chicago for the construction, on a cost plus 10 per cent. basis, of several highways to radiate from Mexico City. The funds for this work were to be derived from a special tax of approximately 6 cents per gallon on gasoline and a graduated tax on tobacco products. It was estimated that these new taxes would yield a revenue of 250,000 pesos monthly. The estimated construction cost of the road from Mexico City to Puebla, a distance of seventy-two miles, and of the road from Mexico City to Pachuca, a distance of fifty-four miles, is \$2,286,950, or approximately \$18,100 per mile.

The Mexican Foreign Office expressed regret to the American Embassy because of the shooting of Vice Consul Harold G. Bretherton, at Aguas Calientes on July 16. Mr. Bretherton was accidentally wounded when two Mexican Congressmen engaged in a street pistol duel. The Vice Consul's injury was slight.

According to a recently published Mexican Consular report, Mexico's trade with the United States from Jan. 1 to May 31, 1925, totaled \$151,423,791. Of this sum \$63,713,708 represented imports from the United States to Mexico, and \$87,710,083 represented exports from Mexico to the United States, thereby leaving a favorable trade balance for Mexico of nearly \$24,000,000. These figures revealed the fact that trade between Mexico and the United States is being conducted at a rate in excess of \$1,000,000 per day.

Nicaragua

IN conformity with plans announced early this year by the State Department of the United States, the detachment of United States marines, which for thirteen years has served as a legation guard at Managua, was withdrawn on Aug. 3. The withdrawal ceremonies were not lacking in animation and color. Led by a marine band and with colors flying the marines marched to the station and entrained for Corinto, where they boarded the transport Rochester for the United States. The attitude of the Nicaraguan press with reference to the withdrawal of the marines was expressed in the following typical editorial comment: "They have been here at our request and they have never committed any act against Nicaraguan independence or sovereignty."

With the withdrawal of the marines the Nicaraguan Constabulary, headed by Major Calvin Brooks Carter of Texas, formerly an officer of the Philippine Constabulary and once Governor of the Province of Cottobato in the Southern Philippines, becomes responsible for the maintenance of peace in Nicaragua. The native Constabulary was created by an act of the Nicaraguan Congress on May 3. It will occupy the quarters vacated by the marines.

At the close of the first six months of 1925 Nicaragua had a surplus in the Treasury of \$400,000 after having met all budgetary charges and interest obligations on both internal and foreign debts.

Serious opposition to the presence in Nicaragua of American Protestant missionaries developed among Orthodox Catholics late in July. The Central American Mission at Granada was stoned and bombed. This mission is supported by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Baptist Convention of Richmond, Va., which recently decided to establish headquarters at Granada, despite the opposition of the Bishop of Granada. The bombing of the structure jeopardized the lives of the three missionaries resident there. Feeling continued high, and a mob demonstration before the mission, on July 27, resulted in the serious injury of a native woman in the missionary church. Police intervention prevented further disorders. Later President Solizano sent a commission and fifty soldiers to Granada to investigate the difficulties that had arisen between the American missionaries and the Catholic authorities.

It was reported from San Salvador on Aug. 2 that a Cabinet crisis had been averted by the resignation of Minister of Public Works Salvador Castrillo and of Minister of Foreign Affairs José Andros Urtecho and by the appointment to these respective offices of José Estrada and Dr. Frederico Sacasa. Difficulties in the Cabinet were due to the alleged insubordination of Dr. Castrillo, who was requested to resign by the President.

Cuba

AMERICAN residents in Cuba, at the July 4 luncheon of the American Club, extended to President Machado a pledge of their whole-hearted support during his Administration. Secretary of State De Céspedes, the principal speaker at the function, asserted that General Machado had promised an honest and efficient Administration with special favors for no one.

An elaborate system of highways throughout the island, and, in addition, aqueducts and sewage for numerous towns, the entire cost of which it was estimated would be \$385,000,000, has

been approved by the Cuban Congress. The first military execution in Cuba in five years occurred on July 6. The case was that of a rural guard who was convicted by a court-martial of the murder of a Corporal. In the civilian courts, also, there developed a case involving the extreme penalty. After the death sentence of a man convicted of murder had been approved by President Machado—this being the first civil death sentence to be approved by a Cuban Executive in nineteen years—the Audiencia Court, at a special session shortly before the hour scheduled for the execution of the criminal, commuted the sentence to life imprisonment.

El Salvador

A LAW was recently passed by the National Congress which provides for a Highway Board in each of the fourteen departments of El Salvador. This board will have charge of all road improvement work and the collection of funds for the work, as such funds are provided for by law. A sliding tax, to be paid in either labor or money, is authorized under the law for the road construction work. This tax ranges from three days labor by the day laborer, who is allowed fifty centavos

per day, to 300 days work, or the payment of 300 colones (a Salvadorean colon is worth about fifty cents gold), by persons whose capital is more than 1,000,000 colones. It was directed that the law should become effective on Sept. 16.

Honduras

GENERAL VICENTA TOSTA, Minister of War and Marine, officially announced at Tegucigalpa, on Aug. 11, that peace had been restored throughout Honduras. General Tosta's announcement followed his arrival from Western Honduras, where he had been directing a campaign against insurrectionists; the Minister said that the rebels, who had been giving the Government considerable trouble for several weeks, had been thoroughly defeated. It was further announced that the army had been reduced to a minimum.

A note protesting against and requesting an explanation of the occupation of Potrerillos and Las Trojes has been filed with the Honduran Government by the Government of Nicaragua. Potrerillos and Las Trojes are in disputed territory, the title to which is being studied by the United States Government as arbiter between Honduras and Nicaragua.

South America

By HARRY T. COLLINGS
Professor of Economics, University of Pennsylvania

INTEREST in South American affairs of the past month has centred on the meetings of the Tacna-Arica Plebiscitary Commission. General John J. Pershing, President of the commission, sailed from Key West on the U. S. S. Rochester on July 19 and reached the port of Arica, northern Chile, at the end of the month. The streets and buildings of this city were decorated with flags and a reception was tendered the Ameri-

can delegation by the city authorities. The Chilean members of the commission arrived several days before General Pershing. The Peruvian representative, Señor Manuel Freyre, reached Arica on Aug. 3, and was greeted at the pier by General Pershing and Señor Augustin Edwards, head of the Chilean delegation.

The commission is to supervise the plebiscite held to decide the nationality

of the Tacna-Arica district. About 35,000 are believed to be resident in the area, and from 5,000 to 7,000 votes are expected. One of the chief tasks of the commission will be to pass upon disputed votes, since Peru maintains that several hundred Peruvians entitled to vote have been forced out of the area by Chilean authorities.

At the first formal session of the commission on Aug. 5, General Pershing outlined the work of that body. The members are to function under and to construe the meaning of the award made by President Coolidge. They have no power to alter, amend or revise that award. As President of the session, General Pershing assured the inhabitants of the area that every qualified voter would be permitted to cast his vote freely, and that his vote would be counted fairly. "Emerging from the devastation of the greatest of wars," said General Pershing, "the people of the earth are groping for some less disastrous means for settling disputes with dignity and honor. The Government of the United States has no other ambition than to aid in the friendly settlement of this dispute and to promote the interests of peace."

It was announced on Aug. 14 that the Chilean delegation had forwarded to General Pershing a complete plan, with rules and regulations, governing the registration of voters in the plebiscite.

The Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, an American mining company with extensive interests in Peru, donated \$25,000 toward the payment of expenses incurred in connection with the forthcoming plebiscite.

Another event of transcendent interest to South America generally was the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Montevideo, Uruguay, on Aug. 14, as the first stage of a formal visit to Argentina and a tour of a number of other South American republics. After receiving a truly royal reception from the Uruguayan Government, the Prince three days later (Aug. 16) sailed on the British cruiser Curfew for Buenos Aires, where ceremonies of welcome were being prepared.

Argentina

BEFORE leaving for his new post as Ambassador to Argentina, Hon. Peter Augustus Jay was the guest (July 21) of the Argentine-American Chamber of Commerce at a luncheon in New York. Mr. Jay discussed the many sympathetic ties which bind the two countries and pledged his best efforts toward strengthening the present cordial relations. Mr. Jay was formerly United States Minister to Rumania. He is a descendant of John Jay of Revolutionary fame and has been in diplomatic service for twenty-three years.

Dr. Tomas A. le Breton, formerly Argentina Minister to the United States, resigned his portfolio as Minister of Agriculture on Aug. 5. Ill health was given as the reason.

The budget for 1926, as presented by President Alvear, is the largest in the history of the republic. Estimated expenditures represent an outlay of 650,000,000 paper pesos cash and 96,000,000 paper pesos of internal bonds. The paper peso of Argentina is approximately 40 cents. The budget for the present year, however, has not been passed by Congress.

The arrival in Buenos Aires on July 9 of Lieutenant Antonio Locatelli, Italian airman and Fascist Deputy, brought about a clash between Mussolini sympathizers welcoming Locatelli and the anti-Fascist group, when the aviator landed from the steamer which brought him from Europe. Several persons were injured during the demonstration and the police restored order with some difficulty. Eleven arrests were made.

Bolivia

ON Aug. 6 President Coolidge sent the following cablegram to the President of Bolivia:

His Excellency
José G. Villanueva,
The President of Bolivia,
La Paz.

On this national holiday, when Bolivia celebrates the centenary anniversary of its independence as well as Your Excellency's eleva-

tion to Chief Magistrate of your Republic I take pleasure in extending sincere wishes of my Government in which I join heartily for the increasing prosperity of Bolivia in the coming years of national life. I also offer to Your Excellency personally the assurance of my high regard and best wishes for the success of your Administration.

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

The Atocha-Villazon Railroad, connecting Bolivia and Argentina, was completed and turned over to the Bolivian Government in July, two weeks earlier than originally contemplated in the contract. This line, 124 miles in length, built at a cost of \$10,000,000, extends from Atocha, Bolivia, to the Argentine frontier. The National Geographic Society hailed the completion of the line as bringing "the long-cherished dream of uniting the republics of North and South America with bonds of steel, another step nearer realization." In addition to providing a new outlet for Bolivia, which has no seacoast, the society explained that the new line, lying entirely between altitudes of 9,500 and 14,000 feet, connects with the railway systems of Argentina at its southern terminal and, through them, with the lines of Uruguay and Brazil, while at Atocha, it is possible to make connections with Pacific Coast ports and to continue as far north as Cuzco, Peru. The statement added: "More than half of the 10,211 miles separating Washington and Buenos Aires have already been paved with steel, while several hundred additional miles have been surveyed or are now under construction."

Brazil

DR. ALEXANDER HAMILTON RICE returned on July 10 from his seventh expedition into the heart of South America. He reported the discovery, at the head waters of the Parima River, of a tribe of white Indians, who spoke a language entirely their own and ate cocaine as a relish for their diet of wild plantains. Owing to the necessity of conversing with them mainly by signs,

he was unable to discover where they obtained the drug.

The chief aim of the expedition into this part of South America was to discover the source of certain northern tributaries of the Amazon. Among a number of Indian tribes of this section the belief exists that the Orinoco and Amazon tributaries have a common source in a certain mountain lake. The Rice expedition left the Amazon proper at Manaos and traveled up the River Negro to its tributary, the River Branco. This river was followed for ten days due north toward Venezuela, as far as the town of Boa Vista, Brazil. From here the expedition pursued the course of the Parima River to the mountains separating Northern Brazil and Southern Venezuela. Here in a jungle stream three canoes carrying five months' provisions capsized, thus compelling the party to turn back. The explorer's believed that the mishap occurred not more than seventy-five miles from the head waters of the Parima.

Lieutenant Walter Hinton, who accompanied the party, was sent to fly across the seventy-five miles which separated the head waters of the Parima from those of the Orinoco to see if he could discover the trails traversed by the Indians in going from one big river to the other. Lieutenant Hinton made the flight and reported that the land journey would be impossible to man or beast, as it was covered with dark forests, mountains rising sheer from the valleys and dense jungles with no sign of a path.

Stellar observations taken along the route showed the present maps to be fifty miles out of the way. Airplane photography facilitated mapping the Branco River; and by means of a 100-watt short-wave radio the expedition kept in touch with such distant places as New York, London and New Zealand.

Plans for a loan of from \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000 of American capital to the State of Sao Paulo were recently halted by the unwillingness of New York bankers to extend the credit. The loan was intended for coffee valorization, and in the view of the bankers and

of our Government officials, it would have affected the price paid for coffee by American consumers. The valorization scheme for coffee as carried on the past twenty years in Brazil consists in the buying of large quantities of the berry with State funds in order to maintain a higher price in the world's marts.

President Bernardes has made distinct efforts to contract note circulation during July and August. The decrease in the circulation medium affected commerce in the Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo markets. Recent suspension of rediscounting by the Bank of Brazil limited the activities of smaller banks, with a resultant increase of demand on foreign banks. Banks paid 10 per cent. on three months' loans and charged 14 per cent. on average transactions, with some business at 24 per cent.

The Soviet Council of Labor and Defense, after an investigation of conditions in the State of Sao Paulo, forbade (Aug. 1) the emigration of Soviet citizens to Sao Paulo. The reasons assigned by the press for the restriction were as follows: That there is no official representative of the Soviet in Brazil to whom workmen could look to redress, that terms of agreement offered to Russian immigrants are unsatisfactory, and that the working day is from sunrise to sunset.

Chile

THE commission of financial experts, headed by Professor E. W. Kemmerer of Princeton University, is now at work in Chile. At the invitation of the Chilean Government this commission is to make suggestions for the reorganization of Chile's fiscal system.

A concession of 400,000 square meters of public lands has been granted by Governmental decree for the purpose of erecting at low cost much needed workmen's houses. The early construction of these is assured by the apportionment of credits provided by the recent American loan to the Caja de Crédito Hipotecario [Bureau of Mortgage Credit].

At its meeting on July 13 the subcommittee on constitutional reforms,

presided over by President Alessandri, ended its work. It approved the recently enacted provisional articles of the Constitution and agreed to hold the Presidential election on Oct. 24 next and the general Congressional elections on Nov. 22. A plebiscite was held at the end of August to consult public opinion on the new Constitution.

Dispatches from the American Embassy in Santiago reported the establishment in Valparaiso of an office for the expansion of Latin American trade. This movement is the direct result of the Fifth Pan-American Conference held in Chile in 1923.

Colombia

A PRESIDENTIAL decree expelled from Colombia (July 24) M. Savinsky, Russian head of the Communist Society for Colombia and Ecuador. He was arrested on June 5 charged with "activities against the legitimate authority of the Colombian Government."

The railway line of the Colombian Northern Railway Company, Ltd. of London, which runs from Bogotá to Zitaquira, a salt mining centre, was seized by the Government on July 14. The action followed a decision of the Colombian Supreme Court about a month before, canceling the company's concession and authorizing the Government to take the property for non-fulfilment by the company of the terms of the concession.

The Colombian Council of State has finally approved a contract with American interests to cut the bar at the mouth of the Magdalena River. This will permit ocean vessels to reach Barranquilla instead of being compelled to dock at Puerto Colombia. Agitation for the improvement has been in progress for several years.

Ecuador

ON the night of July 9 a military coup d'état headed by General Gomez de la Torre and the younger members of the army took place in Quito, Guayaquil and other cities of Ecuador. President

Cordova, all members of the Cabinet, and certain other prominent officials were placed under guard. There was no bloodshed or public disorder. The triumvirate which took charge of the Government consisted of General Gomez de la Torre, Señor Luis Napoleon Dillon and Señor José Rafael Bustamante.

A new Cabinet took office July 14, consisting of the following members:

MODESTO LARREA JIJON—Premier.
JOSE RAFAEL BUSTAMANTE — Minister of Foreign Affairs.
PEDRO P. GARAICOA—Public Instruction.
FRANCISCO BOLONA—Labor.
GENERAL MOISES OLIVA — Public Works.
LUIS NAPOLEON DILLON—Treasury.
GENERAL FRANCISCO GOMEZ DE LA TORRE—War and Navy.

Dr. Gonzalo Cordova resigned from the presidency after his Government was overthrown. He planned to leave for Venezuela. General Leonidas Plaza, an ex-President of Ecuador and one of

those to whom the present coup was attributed in first reports, was ordered to leave the country. He reached Panama on July 30 and sailed for New Orleans, declaring his intention of making his future home in California. Steps were taken during August to secure recognition by the foreign powers of the new Government; Dr. Rafael H. Elizalde, Ecuadorean diplomat, sailed for the United States to ask that that Government extend formal recognition to his country under the new régime.

Dr. Francisco Ochoa Ortiz, Minister from Ecuador to the United States, on July 12 cabled his resignation to the military junta now in charge of his country's Government. Dr. Ortiz agreed to remain at his post until relieved.

Reports from Government sources state that the commission of financial experts from the United States, now working in Chile, is to be invited to devise some means of stabilizing Ecuadorean exchange.

The British Empire

By RALSTON HAYDEN

Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan

Great Britain

BY agreeing to subsidize the coal industry for the next nine months to the amount of nearly \$50,000,000 the Baldwin Government on July 31 averted, or at least postponed, the miners' strike which threatened on Aug. 1 to stop the production of coal in Great Britain and to precipitate a struggle which would have endangered the nation's existence. On Aug. 6 the House of Commons by 351 votes to 18 upheld the action of the Government and authorized the necessary expenditure. The effect of the settlement was that the miners would receive their present wages until May, 1926, while

the Exchequer would reimburse the mine owners for any deficiency in their recognized rate of profits which the arrangement might entail. Meanwhile, a royal commission is to investigate the coal industry and seek to suggest means by which coal may be profitably mined without a reduction of miners' wages.

After the appointment of W. C. Bridgeman, First Lord of the Admiralty, on July 9 as mediator between the Miners' Federation and the owners, much fruitless negotiation took place. Then, on July 28, the Prime Minister conferred separately with both parties. It was intimated that if the miners walked out the transport workers would support them with a sympa-

thetic strike, thus paralyzing the economic life of the entire nation. The Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Labor Party gave the miners their moral support, while the Miners' International, meeting in Paris, pledged that world coal production would be reduced to a point at which it would not create a menace to the British workers should the strike come. After the first feeling of relief at escape from a national catastrophe the method by which the Government prevented the strike was subjected to criticism from almost every element of the community. The grave statements of representative leaders and the Prime Minister's defense of his course revealed the seriousness of the crisis and the fact that the settlement was only a truce. Former Prime Minister Lloyd George, leader of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, attacked the settlement on the ground that the precedent thus established would be very difficult to deny when a crisis came in other industries. Speaking in the House of Commons on Aug. 6 Mr. Baldwin placed the final justification of his course upon the ground of necessity. "The Government had only two alternatives," he declared. "to have a stoppage or find a way out. With industry in its present desperate condition, he inquired, "Could a Government do a worse thing for the country than allow it to be plunged into a struggle which must throw back for months, perhaps for years, any chance of revival?" He concluded with a stern warning to the forces of disorder in England.

It is a matter of the will, and just as the will to peace can bring peace, so the will to strife can bring strife. And if the will to strife should temporarily overcome the will to peace * * * and if we are again confronted with a challenge of the nature I have described, let me say that no minority in a free country has ever yet coerced the whole community. The community will always protect itself, for the community must be fed and it will see to it that it gets its food. I am convinced that if the time should come when the community has to protect itself with the full force of the Government behind it, the com-

munity will do so and the response of the community will astonish the forces of anarchy throughout the world.

From A. J. Cook, Secretary of the Miners' Federation came the statement that the arrangement was no settlement of the mining crisis, but merely an armistice during which the unions would gird themselves for a fight to the finish for the nationalization of the industry. The Mining Association, representing the owners, agreed with this assertion, and issued a statement warning the public that "the crisis will recur in exactly the same form next May unless the situation is resolutely faced in the interim." John Wheatley, left wing labor leader who was Minister of Health in the MacDonald Cabinet, declared: "We are on the threshold of an industrial and social revolution. * * * One thing is clear—for the next nine months the workers must prepare on a new scale and on new lines for the greatest struggle in their history." As a part of their preparation for any future attempt to obtain their demands, the executives of the unions in the mining, railroad, transport, engineering and shipbuilding industries of Great Britain met in London on July 17 and approved a plan for an alliance between their several organizations. The objects of this super-union were declared to be:

To create by means of an alliance of the specified organizations a means of mutual support to assist any or all allied organizations in defending hours of labor, wage standards and the security of advancement in the standard of living, or to take action to insure acceptance or to defend any principle of an industrial character which may be deemed vital by the allied organizations.

J. M. Keynes, the famous economist, declared that the crisis in the coal and other industries was due in considerable part to the return to the gold standard policy and urged its reversal. Sir Josiah C. Stamp, economist and railroad President, member of the Government's Court of Inquiry to investigate the causes of the mining dispute, took a somewhat similar position in his report. Winston Churchill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, declared that the gold policy could only be

judged over a period of years, and that thus far nothing had occurred to warrant any departure from it. On Aug. 6 the Bank of England reduced its official minimum bank rate from 5 to 4½ per cent. This unexpected action created a general impression that England's financial position was improving. On the other hand, the economic staff of the Federation of British Industries reported early in July that British foreign trade had fallen off to 75 per cent. of its pre-war scale and was handicapped by conditions which discouraged hopes of an early improvement.

The House of Commons on July 31 passed the Unemployment Insurance bill after a Labor motion to amend it was defeated by a vote of 263 to 98. The measure, which amended the existing Unemployment Insurance law, empowers the Minister of Labor to withhold unemployment payments under certain conditions with a view of preventing fraud.

An important victory was gained by the Labor Party at the Forest of Dean, Gloucester, by-election. A. A. Purcell, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, an extreme radical and one of the chief apologists for the Soviet Government, was returned with a large majority. The seat was formerly held by a moderate Laborite. Parliament adjourned on Aug. 8 until Nov. 16.

Ireland

SERIOUS trade depression and the alarming extent of unemployment overshadowed political questions in public interest during the month. Early in July the Minister of Labor of the Northern Provinces called a round table conference of representatives of employers and workers for the purpose of discussing the situation and to focus public attention upon the problem. Statistics were adduced which showed that about 56,000 unemployed were drawing the weekly benefit under the Unemployment acts. At the annual meeting of the Irish Trade Union Congress held at Newry on Aug. 5, it was declared that

unemployment was much more general than indicated by the official figures, and that 30,000 persons in the Free State had actually become unfit for work through lack of proper food. The gloomy industrial situation was matched in many agricultural communities, especially in the "congested districts." In such localities the farms are rarely larger than 30 or 40 acres. The result is that all the sons of the farmers except the eldest must leave home as they approach manhood. Unemployment in the cities and the elimination of America as an outlet for large numbers of the population have therefore made the depressed condition of agriculture even more acute.

Canada

THE five-months strike of the miners employed in the Cape Breton coal fields by the British Empire Steel Corporation ended on Aug. 6. Both the miners and the company agreed to resume operations under an interim contract for six months, during which time a full inquiry into the coal industry of the province is to be made. The contract contains the 1924 working terms and the 1922 wage rates, the latter being six per cent. less than those of the 1924 agreement.

On July 17 ratifications were exchanged by the American Secretary of State and Ernest LaPointe, Minister of Justice of Canada, of the following treaties, in respect of the Dominion of Canada: Treaty to aid in suppressing smuggling operations along the border between the United States and Canada and in the arrest and prosecution of persons violating the narcotic laws of either Government, signed June 5, 1924; treaty to provide for extradition on account of crimes or offenses committed against the laws for the suppression of the traffic in narcotics, signed Jan. 8, 1925; treaty to define more accurately and to complete the international boundary between the United States and Canada and to maintain the demarcation of that boundary, signed Feb. 24, 1925; treaty to regulate the level of the

Lake of the Woods, signed Feb. 24, 1925.

Early in July the Federal Government ordered a further reduction of 25 per cent. in the number of Orientals who might be employed in fishing plants in British Columbia. This action followed a 25 per cent. decrease in the number of fishing licenses that might be issued to Japanese during the year, and the issuance of regulations prohibiting the employment of Orientals in the new plants which are being built at several points along the coast to manufacture fertilizer and chicken food out of certain fish common in coastal waters.

The new Nova Scotian Cabinet was sworn in on July 16 as follows:

E. N. RHODES—Premier, Provincial Secretary and Treasurer.

COL. GORDON SIDNEY HARRINGTON, K. C.—Secretary of Public Works and Mines.

JOHN C. DOUGLAS—Attorney General.

JOHN A. WALKER—Secretary of Natural Resources and Provincial Development.

PERCY CHAPMAN BLACK—Secretary of the Department of Highways.

The Conservative Party won a sweeping victory in the New Brunswick elections of Aug. 10. Headed by J. B. M. Baxter, now Premier-designate, they captured 36 of the 48 seats in the Provincial Legislature. The Liberals, who held 24 seats in the old Assembly, were reduced to 12 representatives. The Farmers' Party exercised little influence in the election.

Newfoundland

DISPATCHES from Newfoundland indicated the existence of a feeling of general satisfaction over the greatly improved financial condition of the colony for the fiscal year which ended on June 30. The Treasurer's report showed that despite high taxes the revenue for the year was, with the exception of 1920, the largest in the history of the colony. The income from taxes amounted to \$10,000,000, which is \$1,500,000 more than that of last

year, and the budget was balanced for the first time since 1920.

Australia

A BUDGET calling for the expenditure of £56,619,000 by the Commonwealth Government during the coming fiscal year was presented to Parliament on Aug. 14 by Dr. G. C. Page, Commonwealth Treasurer. The total of the new budget represented an increase of £2,141,000 over the appropriations of 1925.

Blood relationship, a common heritage of institutions, and a common will for world peace were emphasized upon the occasion of the visit of the Grand Fleet of the American Navy to Australia. Replying to a message from the Governor General of Australia, President Coolidge used these significant words: "In questions touching the great region of the Pacific, I am sure that our aims will always be similar; that with the assistance of the other nations that look out on the Pacific peace will be so clearly the established order that it will become a beneficent condition." The fleet arrived in Australian waters July 23. One squadron went to Sydney, another to Melbourne. In both ports the personnel was fairly overwhelmed with hospitality.

Australian shipping was again dislocated by a strike called by the Seamen's Union.

Early in the new session of the South Australian Parliament a crisis developed in the Labor Party over the unions' demand on the Government for a 44-hour week. The Premier was warned that if the representatives of the Labor Party in the Legislature were not prepared to concede this demand they would be replaced by others more conversant with labor's wishes.

A \$75,000,000 issue of Commonwealth of Australia 5 per cent. bonds offered in New York on July 20 was largely oversubscribed within an hour after the books were opened. At the same time bonds amounting to about \$25,000,000 were sold in London.

South Africa

RACIAL relations continued to be the most absorbing topic of political discussion in South Africa during the period under review. On July 7 the Senate rejected the Mines and Factories bill, popularly known as the Color Bar bill, by a vote of 17 to 13. The measure sought to prevent native Africans and Asiatics from being employed in certain skilled categories of work in factories and mines. It would have merely legalized the existing practice in the Rand mines, but would have introduced a new principle into many other parts of the Union, especially in the Cape Province. The bill was rejected by a solid South African Party vote.

On July 23 the Government's Asiatic bill was introduced into the House of Assembly. This measure empowers the Government, in certain circumstances, to set aside trading or residential areas, or both, "for certain persons having racial characteristics in common." It also provides that such races as the Governor General may specify by proclamation may be forbidden to acquire or to lease land in Natal, except in the coastal belt. Even in the coastal belt the specified races may acquire or lease land only from persons of the same race. In addition, the bill makes more stringent the immigration law in respect of wives of Indians domiciled in the Union. It was recognized that legislation of this character was sure to arouse the bitter opposition of Indians and to affect British-Indian relations. The Government announced, however, that the introduction of the bill did not close the door to the negotiations which were in progress between the Governments of the Union and of India.

The race question also came to the fore in the parliamentary discussion of the Southwest Africa Constitution bill. Explaining why the bill did not extend the franchise to Cape colored citizens resident in Southwest Africa, General Hertzog, the Premier, announced that

he hoped in January or February next to lay before the House proposals in regard to the whole question of natives and native policy and also in regard to the colored man in South Africa.

Discussion of the future relations between South Africa and the British Empire was avoided by the Government in withdrawing its South African Nationality and Flag bill on July 21.

India

CONTRARY to early reports, the official leadership of the Swaraj (home rule) Party in succession to the late C. R. Das fell upon the Pandit Motilal Nehru instead of J. M. Sen Gupta, Das's chief lieutenant. The Pandit Motilal Nehru was elected leader, Rangswami Iyengar, secretary, and Sen Gupta a member of the council of the party on July 16. Sen Gupta was also chosen to succeed Das as Mayor of Bombay. The General Council adopted resolutions offering cooperation with the Government upon the terms suggested by Das, which included the immediate release of political prisoners and a declaration by the British Government that it would give India dominion status immediately. The council regretted the announcement which Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, had recently made in the House of Lords as the result of his conferences with the Viceroy. In this statement the Government made clear that it did not intend to undertake a revision of the Montagu-Chelmsford act, now the Constitution of India, until the expiration of the ten-year experimental period in 1929. Lord Birkenhead also intimated very clearly that a condition of revision at that time would be co-operation of responsible Indian leaders to make the present institutions work. Much significance was attached to the agreement of the Pandit Motilal Nehru to serve upon a Government committee to inquire into the establishment of an Indian military training college for Indian army officers. This act was regarded as indicating the end of the non-cooperation movement.

France and Belgium

BY WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS

Professor of History, University of Minnesota

WITH the advent of August the French public had steeled itself to face the prospect of a really serious and prolonged war in North Africa—a war, moreover, in which a large part of the republic's colonial possessions were at stake. To further aggravate the situation, there presently came disquieting reports of an outbreak of the natives of Syria. The military qualities of Abd-el-Krim and his Riff tribesmen were thoroughly appreciated in Paris; there was dread, furthermore, lest the national finances, already straitened, be burdened with a long, expensive and inglorious war, plus the disquieting probability that native African troops would ere long prove disloyal and that the native sons of France soon would be swelling the casualty lists. Few held the Painlevé Cabinet responsible for the situation; it was likely, however, that further bad news from Africa would render the Government's position very precarious, considering the uncertain complexion of the Chamber. A significant development in this regard was the decision of the Socialist Congress of the Department of the Seine on Aug. 9 to withdraw its support from the Government. Even prior to this last development the prospect had been ominous, and experienced politicians were not sorry, therefore, when on July 13 Parliament adjourned for the Summer, after voting the new "balanced" budget.

During July the French Government was reported as making earnest and sincere efforts to negotiate with Abd-el-Krim; the Administration sought to reach some understanding with him which would quiet his tribesmen and at the same time leave French prestige unshaken in North Africa. Numerous critics in Paris asserted that the Cabinet was humiliating the nation in trying to compound with the Moorish chief; the

leaders of the Government replied that all they did was largely to clarify the situation and to "convince public opinion that, should Abd-el-Krim refuse (the proffered Franco-Spanish terms) the Government is thoroughly justified in prosecuting the war to the bitter end."

It was reported on July 22 that Abd-el-Krim had offered to make peace on the main condition that "the Riff State should be recognized and guaranteed by the League of Nations with a similar status to that of Afghanistan and that Abd-el-Krim should receive the title of 'Emir,' under the merely 'spiritual suzerainty' of the Sultan of Morocco." The first reaction in Paris to these suggestions was that they were not impossible as a basis for negotiation; it was pointed out, however, that though such terms might be acceptable to France they would never be tolerable to Spain, which situation meant a deadlock, since, under the terms of the recent Franco-Spanish agreement, the French had made the Spanish claims in Africa their own.

Abd-el-Krim was declared on July 26 to be desiring a parley at Tangier, with a very broad latitude as to the terms he would offer the French and Spanish provided genuine independence was once conceded him. This pronouncement was met upon Aug. 1 by a formal warning by Premier Painlevé that France and Spain were now in perfect accord and were determined to wage relentless war unless the Moors came to terms. "Our energy," declared the Premier, "in the conduct of the war will not be less than our desire for peace. Every precaution is being taken to prevent heavy losses to our troops, but the Rifians and Djebalas must submit and accept the just and generous terms which France and Spain are offering them." It was stated on Aug. 4 that

France and Spain were willing to grant "administrative autonomy" to the Riff.

Meantime, the military situation was being firmly faced by the French leaders. General Naulin, the new active field commander, sailed from Marseilles for Morocco on July 18. Following General Naulin, Marshal Pétain himself was sent to North Africa as "Resident General and Commander-in-Chief in Morocco" until the end of the war. Early in August Marshal Pétain submitted a report to the Government; he praised the troops and urged relentless prosecution of the war until the Moors were thoroughly defeated. It was stated on July 25 that it was impossible to make Marshal Lyautey Commander-in-Chief on account of his decidedly poor health. Early in August the French were said to have about 150,000 troops of all kinds in Morocco, and, having stopped the Riffian drive on Fez, were preparing a great offensive. Abd-el-Krim on Aug. 10 repeated his refusal to negotiate unless independence was first granted. Premier Painlevé on Aug. 14 emphatically declared that neither France nor Spain would consider recognition of the independence of the Riff territory as part of a peace agreement.

The French forces on Aug. 13 gave a formal welcome to the newly formed American flying unit at Casablanca. This unit, which is composed exclusively of American veterans of the World War, was scheduled to be placed in action against the Moors as soon as the fliers had been made familiar with the territory and with local military strategy.

According to all published announcements the new 4 per cent. consolidation loan floated by Finance Minister Caillaux opened with promise of marked success. The very attractive feature, of course, was the guaranteeing of interest upon a gold basis. Peasants, small manufacturers and many other large classes in the population have been extremely prosperous lately, and were apparently glad to seek this

way to make their future interest secure.

Late in July Cardinal Dubois issued an urgent appeal to all Catholics to subscribe to the loan, saying that it was the patriotic duty of all the faithful in France to safeguard the financial dignity of the country and to secure its future. This was followed early in August by a similar appeal to his political supporters by ex-President Poincaré, hitherto the inveterate foe of M. Caillaux and all his measures. There seemed to be little doubt that the Finance Minister, although largely breaking with his old friends the Socialists, in his fiscal proposals had found very strong support among the Conservatives; many of the Conservative leaders appeared to be willing to call bygones bygones provided the Finance Minister would take drastic measures to restore the national credit.

National attention centred upon a well organized strike of the bank clerks which affected first Paris, then other French cities. Six of the largest banks in Paris were reported "clerkless" on July 30 and others were in an almost equally serious plight. A large proportion of the strikers were women. The chief aims were to enforce a demand for better salaries to match the cost of living, to effect the institution of a pension scheme and to secure the recognition of the employes' union. Early in August there were more than 15,000 bank clerks on strike in Paris alone; Nantes, Bordeaux and other cities also were affected. Minister of Finance Caillaux told a deputation of strike leaders that he could not understand the failure of the bankers to make reasonable concessions, adding that he approved the demand for readjusted salaries. The situation grew acute during August; conferences failed to effect a settlement, and on Aug. 11 there were a series of fights in the vicinity of Paris; several were hurt and several were arrested.

M. Charles Maurras, a prominent Royalist journalist, upon July 17 was sentenced in the Paris Police Court to

two years' imprisonment for writing a letter threatening Minister of the Interior Schrameck with death for "failing to protect the lives of patriotic citizens." This was an aftermath of the charges that the Government had neglected to act vigorously to put down the attacks of the Communists upon Nationalist and Clerical demonstrations at Marseilles and elsewhere earlier in the year. M. Maurras appealed his case to a higher tribunal.

Professor Achard of the Academy of Medicine has published the results of an investigation under his direction of the consumption of alcohol in France. It was declared that the amount of alcohol consumed had risen from 12,000,000 gallons in 1918 (when there were war restrictions) to 22,000,000 gallons in 1924, and that there was strong evidence that this growth of the habit was more pronounced among women than among men. This was partly due to "the general tendency of the female to imitate the male, other aspects of the phenomenon being the boyish bob, the masculine cut of clothing and the readiness with which women take to cigarettes." The increase, however, was partly ascribed to the fact that "women develop the alcohol habit through the necessity of working like men."

It was announced that M. Schrameck, Minister of the Interior, proposed fresh measures for dealing with "the mass of foreigners who have invaded France since the war." There are now over 2,830,000 foreigners in France, at least 1,000,000 more than prior to the war, and although these are mostly highly valuable workmen and good citizens, a certain number of them are undesirables. To control these alien colonies is often beyond the power of the local police; M. Schrameck therefore proposes to establish a body of 100 inspectors specially trained for the work.

Belgium

THE Belgian official mission for adjusting the war debt to America, composed of ex-Premier Theunis and

three other delegates, arrived upon the Olympic at New York on Aug. 1 and proceeded at once to Washington.

While debating the budget on July 29 Senator Fraiture warned the Government against allowing measures which might permit "American captains of industry" to get control of the Belgian telephone system. M. Anseele, Minister of Railways, assured the Senator that the national interests should be carefully safeguarded. The work of constructing a new telephone trunk line in Belgium, it was stated, would be begun in January.

The strikes which had been troubling the kingdom for some time took on a somewhat sinister aspect toward the close of July. It was said on July 17 that 69,000 metal workers were on strike in the great Liége district, protesting against the proposed 5 per cent. wage reductions. Of these, 19,000 were furnace workers and 50,000 mechanics. A little later the number of these strikers had risen to over 75,000. The newspaper printers in the larger cities went on strike on July 19; these men demanded an average increase of 12.50 francs a week (about 62 cents) and an annual holiday of six consecutive days with pay, independent of the various public holidays. Owing to the ensuing tie-up of the Antwerp papers, the eight newspapers of the city were obliged to arrange for a one-page paper to be published in common while the strike lasted.

M. Vandervelde, the Foreign Minister, made in July a visit to Paris, where he canvassed the international situation with M. Briand. Upon returning he stated that, although he had also had an interview in Paris with the Soviet representative, M. Krassin, as to the possibilities of resuming diplomatic relations between Belgium and Russia, he had rejected M. Krassin's proposal of resuming relations first and examining outstanding difficulties later. M. Vandervelde said he had replied that Belgium must first receive substantial commercial guarantees.

Germany and Austria

By HARRY J. CARMAN
Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University

CONSTITUTION DAY, as the anniversary of the birth of the German Republic is officially called, was formally celebrated throughout Germany on Aug. 11. Government buildings, as well as many private residences, were bedecked in Republican flags, and in the Reichstag where Minister of Interior Schiele was master of ceremonies, an impressive program was carried out. President von Hindenburg, Government and diplomatic officials and many fashionably dressed women guests were in attendance. Incidentally, for the first time since the formal observance of the anniversary of the Weimar Constitution, members of the German Nationalist Party took part in the Reichstag celebration. Dr. Hermann Platz, professor of French history in Bonn University, delivered the speech of the day. Among other things he made an earnest plea for his countrymen to emancipate themselves from the "mad tendency to permit our national life to become Americanized."

In a preliminary celebration, held Aug. 9, one person was killed and many injured in a Berlin clash between the Stahlhelm, a reactionary organization, and the Republican Reichsbanner. President Hoersing of the Reichsbanner, in addressing the crowd of onlookers who watched 150,000 of the Republican militants in a parade drill at Treptow, a Berlin suburb, stated that the membership of his organization was now 3,000,000.

Evacuation of the Ruhr, the beginning of which was mentioned in last month's review, progressed rapidly. By midnight of July 31 not a single French soldier remained in that part of the mining and industrial basin which had been occupied solely by French troops. At Essen there was great rejoicing; flags were flown throughout the city as

church bells chimed out the glad tidings. On Aug. 5 the Allied Military Committee was advised by representatives of the allied Governments to instruct the authorities in charge of the occupation of Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort to begin evacuation as soon as convenient. These three posts were occupied in March, 1921, on the order of the Allied Supreme Council as a penalty for the failure of Germany to meet the allied reparations demands. In many quarters the decision to withdraw the Franco-Belgian troops was thought to be for the sake of creating an atmosphere favorable for negotiation of the security pact; others regarded it as the fulfillment of the French promise given last year in return for Germany's willingness to operate in accordance with the Dawes plan.

The European coal crisis, which threatened to become worldwide, affected all Germany. Over-production resulting from abnormal industrial development during the war, the increased use of oil, water power and cheap, brown coal, the loss of pre-war markets such as the German army, navy and merchant marine, lack of cash for operating needs, heavy taxes, workers' insurance obligations, tariffs and cut-throat foreign competition are the factors which the German industrialists and bankers asserted were responsible for the present difficulty. Faced by what they declared was certain ruin, the coal barons petitioned for assistance. Accordingly on July 24 announcement was made that the Government would again come to the aid of the Ruhr magnates. The operators wanted the Government's backing in two specific respects: First, they desired the Federal Treasury to save them from serious loss on the 10,000,000 tons piled at the pit-heads; and, secondly, they wanted the Luther Cabinet to help them reduce the cost of pro-

duction by increasing the miners' working hours without raising their wages—a proposal which the miners naturally opposed. On July 28 it was officially stated that the Government had decided to create a special commission to pass on the difficulties between the operatives and the employers.

Closely associated with the coal crisis was the unemployment problem. On Aug. 8 it was reported that close to 600,000 laborers were without means of support, while another 600,000 were working only two or three days weekly. Some 40,000 textile workers at Munchen-Gladbach received notice to quit on Aug. 25 unless they agreed to sweeping wage reductions. With the weekly increase in unemployment in the Ruhr and other industrial centres, this would bring the total close to 650,000.

The labor crisis found its source, first, in the fact that the industrialists are unwilling to reorganize on a pre-war basis of profit taking; and, second, in the high price of money, which is making it impossible for the big factories to work at a profit with borrowed capital. On Aug. 9 the Reichsbank discount rate was 9 per cent. and it promised to remain at that figure for many months. Firms like the Krupps and Thyssen are able to borrow money abroad at 7 or 8 per cent., but the average big German firm must pay 12 per cent. to the local banks, while the smaller firms are forced to obtain money by mortgages which call for as high as 18 per cent. At such a cost it is impossible to produce at prices enabling Germany to compete in the world market.

The Government, despite bitter opposition and repeated rumors that it was on the verge of being overthrown, succeeded in putting through its domestic program before the Reichstag adjournment on Aug. 12. The complicated revaluation bill, providing roughly for revaluation of State loans at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of their face issue, both in the case of holders before July 1, 1920, and those who obtained their securities after that

date, was signed by President von Hindenburg on July 17. It was estimated that the face value of the loans in the hands of old holders totaled about 50,000,000,000 marks, and for new holders 20,000,000,000 marks. All mortgages and other claims on landed property and debts on shipping and railway lines were revalued at 25 per cent. Holders of mortgages who before June 15, 1922, accepted redemption of their claims without reservations are not entitled to revaluation under the new law. Industrials were revalued at 15 per cent. Revaluation of the public debt while thus provided for will not be effected until after Germany's reparation obligations have been squared. The tax bills as adopted on Aug. 7, and providing a revenue of 7,000,000,000 marks (about \$1,750,000,000) were said to represent the most thorough taxation reform undertaken by Germany since the war.

The tariff bill, which, from the standpoint of protection, practically returns Germany to the status of 1903, when Bismarck squeezed through a high protective measure, was not passed until the very last day of the session. Manufactured goods will be heavily protected, with the highest duties aimed at the American automobile industry. Imported wheat will be taxed at 85 cents per 100 kilos; oats and rye at 72 cents, and corn at 48. Live animals imported for slaughter will be taxed \$4.30 per 100 kilos, prepared meats as high as \$28 per 100 kilos, and lard and other cooking fats, \$3.

The debate on the revenue measures was at times riotous; violent encounters between Communist Deputies and other members being almost a daily occurrence. Speakers favoring the Government proposals were repeatedly howled down and debate often became an orgy of insults on both sides. Twice the police had to be summoned to expel Red Deputies before order could be restored. During the last weeks of the session the oppressive atmosphere also added to the strain in the Chamber and fainting spells were frequent.

An amnesty bill freeing all National-

ist political prisoners was passed and trade treaties with the United States, Norway, Greece, Belgium and Portugal were also ratified on the last day of the session.

Friends of the late Hugo Stinnes, German industrial magnate, were highly incensed over the manner in which a group of banks disposed of the Stinnes family's choicest industrial stocks, some of which are alleged to have been sold at considerably less than current Boerse ratings. It was stated that unless the banks altered their methods the Stinnes organization would declare bankruptcy or ask for court supervision of the liquidation.

On July 15 promoters of local option placed a petition representing 466,000 votes for prohibition on the table in front of the speaker's stand of the Reichstag. President Loebe permitted it and other prohibition propaganda to be exhibited on the floor of the House. "Dry" leaders seek enactment of a law which will eventually place Germany in the ranks of the "dry" nations.

Provisional figures of the census taken last June show the population of Germany to be about 62,500,000, excluding the Sarre region, the population of which was estimated at another 750,000. Thus the population of Germany continued about the same as it was in 1908, whereas at the outbreak of the war it was about 68,000,000. It is estimated that Germany lost nearly 7,000,000 by the cession of various territories under the terms of the peace treaty, another 2,750,000 by deaths during the war, and 2,500,000 through a decreased birth rate during the war period.

Austria

THE announcement that the Zionist World Congress would assemble in Vienna on Aug. 16 was made the occasion by Austrian Nationalists for a series of anti-Semitic demonstrations. Members of the Hakenkreuzler, a Nationalist organization imbued with the ideas of Hitler's Bavarian National Socialists, have kept Vienna in a state of

agitation by their frequent and numerous attacks on the Jews. On the evening of July 17 about eighty of the younger members of the body, armed with clubs and pistols and shouting "Out with the Jews!" raided the fashionable Stuttgart Casino and attacked several hundred guests. A pitched battle ensued, during which the place was wrecked and several persons injured. With the arrival of the police the assailants dispersed, but not before thirteen arrests had been made. Jewish coffee houses in various parts of the city were also the object of attack. Energetic police measures finally put an end to the worst assaults, but not until after a Hakenkreuzler met death on Aug. 1 following a clash between Nationalists and Social Democrats. The Nationalists insisted that if further bloodshed was to be avoided, the congress must not be held. The Government in reply declared that the congress would be held as scheduled and that all necessary steps would be taken to prevent trouble during its stay. Great indignation prevailed in Vienna, especially among business men, who asserted that the Hakenkreuzler activities not only had cost the city considerable sums of money, but had caused hundreds of foreigners, including many Americans, to leave.

Austrian newspapers expressed enthusiastic approval of American Minister Albert P. Washburn for his successful handling of the difficult international arbitration case which had been pending for over two years between Austria and Yugoslavia. After the collapse of the Austrian Empire, when trade was completely disorganized and currencies were tottering, the Succession States regulated business relations with each other by various experiments. The first expedient of exchanging one train-load of goods for another of equal value was tried and then abandoned as impracticable. Then the States agreed to permit the import and export of given quantities of specified products within fixed periods. The underlying idea was the barter of goods for goods to eliminate, so far as possible, the actual re-

mittance of cash. This was necessitated by the topsy-turvy currency conditions. The number of differences which arose out of this post-war barter period had to be settled by arbitration. A commission was appointed, consisting of one Austrian and one Yugoslav member, with Mr. Washburn as Chairman. After two years of proceedings, the written judgment of Mr. Washburn was accepted by both delegates; the compromises, while partly recognizing some claims of the other side, on the whole were favorable to Austria. An offset to this amicable adjustment was the semi-official information that there was no immediate prospect of reconciling the differences between Austria and Hungary over the negotiation of a commercial agreement. All attempts to reach a provisional agreement, based on Austria's acceptance of Hungary's surplus crops of fruit, vegetables and wine grapes in return for Hungary's reduction of tariffs on specified Austrian manufactures, have been abandoned. On Aug. 2 it was reported that negotiations for a general agreement about tariff and railway rates would be resumed after a short interval.

The favorable development in the Austrian foreign trade balance, noticeable since the new year started and which continued with each month, was a source of great encouragement to many Austrians and to others interested

in Central Europe's economic rehabilitation. Financial circles in particular regard this trade balance as favorable because of its taking place despite the Central European customs system. It seemed to be the policy of Central Europe to keep the tariffs high. In this connection the experts for the League of Nations, in their inquiry into the economic situation of Austria, declared that not only Austria but all Central European States must adapt themselves absolutely to normal conditions and try to find a way leading to mutual advantage.

On July 4 it was announced that the negotiations for a joint provincial loan, which had come to a standstill when the province of Upper Austria bolted, and which suddenly closed for a separate loan with Morgan, Livermore & Co., had been revived. Governor Rintled of the province of Styria, who is conducting the negotiations, had succeeded at that time in lining up two more provinces, namely, Burgenland and Lower Austria.

Spiritist research has been dealt a blow by a Government decree which is based on the opinions of the eminent Austrian alienist, Professor Wagner von Jauregg. The decree prohibits the establishment of societies for occult research. Recently the Government has been swamped with applications for permission to form such societies for the testing and training of spiritistic mediums by private persons.

Italy

By ELOISE ELLERY
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OPPOSITION between Fascist and anti-Fascist forces was roused anew by the decision of the High Court, which on June 27 exonerated General de Bono of any share in the Matteotti murder and of other aggressions against the Opposition leaders.

The Executive Committee of the Aventine Opposition hastened to publish a lengthy manifesto in which it contended that the High Court was biased and had disregarded much evidence implicating de Bono and Mussolini himself in various acts of violence which

had occurred during the first two years of the Fascist Government. The report dwelt especially on the charge that de Bono had participated in the attack on Giovanni Amendola, who was beaten with clubs in a street in Rome in December, 1923, and sarcastically alluded to the recent appointment of de Bono to be Governor of Tripoli as a reward. Quoting from a manifesto published six months ago, it declared that the Opposition was of the same opinion still, that violence would "never suffocate the aspirations of a civilized people." A number of newspapers published this document in full, the anti-Fascist papers without comment. *L'Epoca*, which is mildly pro-Fascist, published also the text of the summing up of the Crown Prosecutor, which endorsed step by step the decisions of the High Court.

Deputy Giovanni Amendola, one of the most prominent leaders of the Aventine Opposition, was again the victim of an attack by Fascisti on June 20. Returning from Montecatini, his motor car was stopped on the road to Pistoia and he was attacked and clubbed. An investigation, however, seemed to show that the authorities and responsible Fascist leaders had done everything they could to prevent him from suffering any harm. An official statement emphasized the exasperation which the Tuscan Fascisti felt at the recent activities of the Opposition, supposedly inspired by Amendola, and called attention to the fact that the actual attack was made at night and in the open country, where irresponsible elements could not easily be controlled. A few days later, on July 28, ex-Premier Orlando, in the course of a speech at Palermo during a municipal election campaign, is reported to have said: "I do not need to tell you that we do not live in a régime of liberty. It is infinitely better to live under an autocratic Government. We cannot deny that autocratic governments have written luminous pages in the history of peoples. Under autocratic government citizens' liberties may be restricted, but they are guaranteed by laws which may be severe but are con-

stitutional." As he left the hall groups of Fascisti rushed at him, while his supporters dashed to his rescue and a fight ensued. Although his automobile was badly damaged, Orlando himself escaped injury.

Another outbreak of violence occurred at Florence in connection with the hearing of the case against Professor Salvemini, a distinguished historian who holds a chair in the University of Florence. After having been in jail for thirty-five days he was brought before the Court on the charge of having part in the printing and distribution of clandestine attacks on the Mussolini Government for contempt of the King and national institutions. A publication called *Non Mollare* ("Stick It Out") was especially in question. The only evidence was that of a compositor named Pinzi, who made charges involving Salvemini. When arrested, Salvemini denied the charge, but was taken handcuffed from Rome to Florence. His counsel argued that he could not be tried on the evidence of a man who was himself under the same charge and had not himself been put on trial, and on this ground he secured the postponement of the case and the granting of provisional liberty to Salvemini. Because of the position of the accused the case attracted great attention and the courtroom was crowded with both Fascisti and anti-Fascisti. As soon as the order for his release was given the Fascisti rushed at Salvemini and his lawyers, while the anti-Fascisti tried to protect them. The affray soon developed into a three-cornered fight between the two parties and the police, who tried to separate them, in the course of which a half dozen persons were slightly injured. The Provisional Fascist Federation issued a statement in which they declared that leading members of the Opposition had gone to Florence with the express purpose of making an anti-Fascist demonstration on the occasion of the Salvemini trial, and that the Florence Fascisti were therefore justified in using force against them. An address of sympathy for Salvemini

was drawn up and is reported to have been signed by over two thousand Italian scholars, students and writers.

The *Corriere della Sera*, a newspaper that has frequently criticized the Government, on July 2 received a diffida or formal "first warning." By decree of July 15, 1924, any newspaper which receives two of these warnings in one year is liable to be suspended or suppressed. The Prefect of Milan, through whom the warning was given, mentioned especially among objectionable articles one in which the *Corriere della Sera* had commented on Mussolini's controversy with The London Times. On the following day the *Corriere della Sera* announced that it would abstain for the present "from dealing with those arguments regarding which liberty to express an opinion was not granted." The *Turin Stampa*, regarded as the political organ of Signor Giolitti, also received a "first warning," as have the *Giustizia*, the *Avanti* and the *Mondo*. The *Giornale d'Italia* on Aug 11 was suppressed for one day because of its approval of Papal criticism of the Italian Government.

The Government also took action regarding a representative of the foreign press in Italy. Officials of the Italian Foreign Ministry asserted that George Seldes, correspondent in Rome for The Chicago Tribune, had cabled "misleading, exaggerated and alarmist dispatches" and that "he had become the mouthpiece exclusively of small groups and political minorities in whose hands he was a passive instrument." On July 24, Ambassador Fletcher was asked to convey to Mr. Seldes the intimation that his stay in Italy was no longer advisable. A formal order to Mr. Seldes to leave Italy was issued on July 27. A group of American correspondents in Rome made energetic protest against the action of the Government toward Mr. Seldes. Signor Grandi, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, while refusing to reconsider the case of Mr. Seldes, professed admiration for the honesty and fair-mindedness of the American press and assured the corre-

spondents of Government non-interference in the exchange of news between Italy and foreign countries. According to Mr. Seldes, writing from Paris after his expulsion, this is not the case. The situation in Sicily is an illustration. Sicily, he asserts, is strongly anti-Fascist, but is terrorized into submission, but no foreign correspondent could safely send out such a statement.

The election at Palermo ending on Aug 4 showed a considerable Fascist majority, 9,671 to 5,866. A dispatch from Rome says that even the Opposition press admitted that the election was carried on with comparative calm. It is reported that the city was heavily policed and that the individual voter was free to vote as he wished. One result of this election was the resignation of former Premier Orlando of his seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In his letter to the President of the Chamber announcing his decision he stated that he was led to take this step not so much because of the outcome of the election but because of the way in which it was carried on. The Opposition press declared that his statement was a clear implication that the results did not represent the true state of public opinion.

The King, as a part of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign, signed on Aug. 1 an amnesty decree, the second under the Fascist régime. This decree covered crimes connected with political ends, but excepted murder. The Matteotti affair was therefore unaffected. It also included a wide range of minor offenses, pardoning all those persons serving sentences of under two years and reducing longer sentences.

The import duty on wheat was re-established on July 24, at the equivalent of about 5 cents per bushel. Italy has nearly always had an import duty on wheat. As foreign wheat can be imported more cheaply than it can be produced locally, duties are necessary if the Government is to render Italy self-supporting so far as cereals are concerned. It was repealed last year only because of a poor harvest.

Eastern Europe and the Balkans

By FREDERIC A. OGG

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Albania

OPONENTS of the Ahmed Zogu Government have sent a note to the League of Nations protesting against the cession of Saint Naum, a small area near Lake Ochrids, to Yugoslavia.

Charles G. Hart, the new American Minister to Albania, presented his credentials at Tirana on Aug. 1.

Bulgaria

THE aftermath of the bombing of the Sveti Krai Cathedral in April continued to absorb attention throughout the month. On July 20 it was officially announced from Sofia that the Yugoslav-Bulgarian incident in regard to the arrest of several Yugoslav subjects in Bulgaria after the outrage was closed. On the same day King Boris pardoned 58 convicts and reduced the sentences of 164 others. But it was stated that a total of 428 persons remained accused of complicity in the cathedral affair, and that the Public Prosecutor was demanding the death penalty in 131 of these cases. As part of a general campaign against persons accused of treacherous action toward the Government, 17 people were sentenced to death at Sliven, Chaskovo, and Berkovica on July 25.

A Socialist International Commission composed of Friedrich Adler, Tom Shaw and Louis de Brouckère met in Prague from June 12 to 14 and heard testimony by labor representatives of every Balkan country except Rumania and Albania. An elaborate report was prepared for submission to the Second Congress of the Socialist and Labor International, scheduled to convene at

Marseilles on Aug. 22. Among the commission's findings was endorsement of the stand taken by the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria against both the Communist-Agrarian advocates of violence and the Tsankov Government. The unhappy state of the country, suffering from Communist and Agrarian pillage and murder on the one hand and the Government's white terrorism on the other, was vividly presented. The report said that the Bulgarian Socialists were desirous of joining with all the really democratic elements in Bulgaria in an effort to establish political liberty, and it urged the Socialist and Labor parties of the world to make every effort to liberalize the Tsankov régime through the application of publicity. It was further remarked that Europe as a whole is largely to blame for the critical Bulgarian situation because of the delay in solving the refugee problem created by the World War.

The Director of the National Bank was instructed by the Finance Minister on Aug. 1 to place at the disposal of the Refugee Committees an appropriation of 20,000,000 leva (normally about \$4,000,000) recently voted by Parliament. This sum is, however, inadequate to the task of settling the thousands of men, women and children who have been flowing over the Greek frontier during the past few years. The Macedonians are demanding the creation of a Ministry of Refugees to deal exclusively with the formidable problem. Efforts to raise a national loan to finance refugee work have not been successful. Meanwhile, according to the decision of a League of Nations commission which recently studied the question of Greek Nationals in Bulgaria, approximately 6,000 Greeks must re-

turn to Greece from Bulgaria by mid-October.

Czechoslovakia

ON July 5 and 6 the Czechoslovak Republic for the first time commemorated the martyrdom of John Huss by a national holiday. Zest was lent to the demonstration by the fact that July 6 was the tenth anniversary of the launching of the revolutionary activities abroad which culminated in the establishment of the present Czechoslovak State. The celebration produced a contretemps resulting in the recall of Mgr. Marmaggi, the papal nuncio, from Prague, closely followed by the recall of the Czechoslovak Minister accredited to the Vatican. Coming only a few months after the difficulties caused by the pastoral letter of the Catholic Bishops threatening excommunication to the supporters of "an atheistic and socialistic Government," the incident betokened increasing gravity of the problem of Church and State. Already offended by the reform of the festal days, when several Catholic festivals were omitted and the celebration in honor of Huss was introduced, the Vatican deemed itself insulted by the decision of President Masaryk and Premier Svehla to participate officially in the recent commemoration; and assurances that no disrespect for the Catholic Church was intended, that the Government expected to take part in the Catholic celebration of the millenium of St. Vaclav in 1928, and that the policy of the State was to be one of tolerance and impartiality were unavailable. The affair caused the resignation of two members of the Cabinet—M. Stribny, Minister of Railways, and Dr. Franke, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs; and to prevent a crisis Parliament adjourned until September, leaving many bills (including one for suffrage reform) not acted upon.

The police arrested the Czech Communist leaders Houser and Stastny in Prague on Aug. 4. It was reported that they were acting in cooperation with an agent of the Third International at

Moscow in connection with an alleged plot to assassinate President Masaryk.

The Czechoslovak Government on Aug. 12 formally declared the famous watering place, Marienbad, to be State property and instituted arrangements for its seizure. Marienbad had been owned by the Abbey Tepl, whose Abbot, Dr. Helmer, is a leading German Nationalist in Czechoslovakia.

Greece

NOTWITHSTANDING political instability which has given Greece eight administrations in a period of eighteen months, the country's finances are in a relatively sound condition. Cable dispatches of July 14 indicated that measures taken by Finance Minister Kofinas would enable the budget to be balanced in the near future. These measures, including increased consumption taxes on tobacco, a higher price of salt (a State monopoly) and a provision for all import duties to be paid in gold converted into paper drachmae at the rate of 12 to 1, promised additional revenue of 350,000,000 drachmae a year.

Under a decision of the League of Nations Mixed Commission, made in pursuance of a voluntary agreement between Greece and Bulgaria, some 6,000 Greeks in Bulgaria must emigrate to Greece before Oct. 15. It was charged by Greek authorities that systematic efforts were being made in Bulgaria to terrorize the Greek inhabitants into withdrawing at once, leaving their property open to confiscation. The murder of a Greek named Nicolaides at Stanimaka has been represented as an act committed in pursuance of this policy. A somewhat strained situation existed in the first week of August. Official circles at Athens denied that movements of troops toward the Bulgar frontier were being made and maintained that reinforcement of the outposts was merely a preventive measure against further oppression of Greek minorities. But it was divulged on Aug. 4 that the Government had signed an authorization for giving a contract for 100,000 rifles to

Italian factories, this being the first instalment of a larger order; also that augmentation of the air force had been decided upon.

Hungary

THERE is a rapidly growing sentiment in Hungary in favor of suppressing the title of "Regent," now borne by Admiral Horthy as nominal head of the State, and substituting for it the title of "Palatine." In some quarters Horthy is looked upon as literally a regent, ruling for the time being in the stead of the legitimate Magyar sovereign, the uncrowned Prince Otho, son of the late Emperor—King Charles. But the more general opinion is that, although Hungary remains officially a monarchy and is so designated in both foreign and domestic documents, the royal power is to be regarded as vested, not in any particular dynasty, but rather in the "Holy Crown" of Hungary; and it is considered that the title of Palatine, in addition to reaching all the way back to the time of Charlemagne historically, would more accurately denote this legal, as opposed to a more personal, relationship.

Poland

COUNT ALEXANDER SKRZYNSKI, Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, arrived in the United States on July 14 and remained until Aug. 5. The primary purpose of his coming was to deliver some addresses before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, Mass. But visits to Washington, New York and Chicago, in addition to a call upon President Coolidge at Swampscott, enabled him to extend his acquaintance with the country and, in particular, to convey to the American public information concerning Polish conditions, policies and problems. His visit had no financial object and no political purpose beyond strengthening the ties of mutual understanding between Poland and the United States.

Negotiations between Poland and Germany for the conclusion of a commer-

cial treaty, which were begun early in the Spring, were broken off in mid-July. The principal points at issue between the two delegations were the determination of the amount of coal from Polish Upper Silesia which Germany would agree to accept monthly, the conditions under which Germany would accept imports of Polish farm products and the regulation of Polish live stock admitted into Germany. The Polish Government expressed its objection to Germany's insistence on introducing into commercial negotiations political questions, and especially matters relating to the status of German optants. Until June 15, 1924, Germany had been accepting, under an agreement, 500,000 tons of coal monthly from Polish Upper Silesia free of duty. After Germany placed an embargo on Polish coal, the Polish Government took measures to defend its trade balance by prohibitions imposed on German merchandise. The effect was to suspend trade relations between the two countries. The commercial negotiations were scheduled to be resumed in September.

Polish-German relations have been also strained as a result of the mutual eviction of non-nationals. Under the Versailles Treaty and the Minority Rights Treaty, Germans residing in the territory ceded to Poland were given the right to reject Polish nationality and retain their German citizenship, but with the obligation in all such cases to leave the country within three years. Similarly, Polish emigrants and their descendants permanently residing in Germany were given a legal right to renounce their German citizenship, but with the same obligation to return to Poland within three years after so doing. By a convention signed in August, 1924, Poland and Germany expressly recognized this right of mutual eviction and agreed upon Aug. 1, 1925, as the date for the compulsory removal of the first class of optants in question, namely, those owning no real property. Other dates were fixed for the progressive removal of remaining classes of optants.

Under the terms of this agreement, about 15,000 Germans, many with wives and children, were compelled at the end of July to make a hurried departure from Polish soil. Poles in Germany, to the number of some 12,000 families, were similarly evicted. All accounts agree that the removals were attended by grievous hardships, especially for the women and children; and notwithstanding that both States were acting in accordance with recognized treaty rights, strong feeling was aroused in each against the other. In Germany, too, responsibility for the inadequate arrangements made for the reception and care of the incoming German population became a source of bitter factional quarrels. Most of the evicted Poles were miners from the Ruhr country, and their arrival in Poland at a time of severe depression in the mining industry created a serious domestic problem.

Count Skrzynski received a delegation of the American Jewish Congress in New York on July 22. Joseph Barondess, Vice President of the congress, expressed the gratification of the American Jews represented by the congress at the recent compact concluded between the Polish Government and representatives of Polish Jewry, by which the Polish Government pledged itself to safeguard the civic and cultural rights of the Jews in Poland. Count Skrzynski replied:

The agreement recently entered into in Warsaw opens a new chapter in the history of the Polish Jewish relation. I do not intend to speak about the former chapter. I am firmly convinced that the agreement will bring valuable results and is the first step to a complete understanding.

The Government cannot do everything, but it has given the lead. I express the hope, and I shall say more than the hope, that the lead which has been given by the Polish Government will bring about achievement of a full understanding.

Rumania

EFFORTS to arrange a Rumanian loan in Paris, London and Zurich having been unsuccessful, it was re-

ported on Aug. 7 that Vintila Bratiano, Minister of Finance, had offered the Standard Oil Company valuable concessions in the State oil reserves if the firm would help float a Rumanian loan in New York, as it helped float a \$100,000,000 Yugoslav loan three years ago.

It was further stated that the company had refused, partly in deference to a request by the American State Department that American bankers should not make loans to Rumania until the kingdom's war debt to the United States was funded.

Yugoslavia

THE month in Yugoslavia was signalized by an exceptionally important turn in the domestic politics—noting less, in fact, than the conclusion of a compromise by which the Croatian Peasants' Party, hitherto unwilling to accept the Constitution of 1921 or to relinquish its dream of Croatian autonomy, withdrew from the Opposition bloc and joined with the Government Radicals in organizing a Coalition Ministry. The Pashitch Cabinet accordingly resigned on July 16 and was promptly reconstructed (Pashitch continuing as Premier) so as to include five Croatian representatives. The first act of the new Ministry was to release from custody Stephen Raditch, leader of the Croat Party, and other persons implicated in an alleged conspiracy against the Belgrade Government. Following his arrest with some of his followers at Agram in January, Raditch was tried and acquitted, but was immediately re-arrested. He did not, however, come to trial a second time.

The Coalition Government on July 20 proceeded with the signing of thirty-two agreements concluded with Italy during conferences of the past five months, giving the freedom of the Port of Fiume equally to Italy and Bulgaria, authorizing the equal use of the Italian and Yugoslav languages in Yugoslavia for all official transactions except those of the customs service, and covering numerous other matters of more or less importance.

Russia

By ARTHUR B. DARLING

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GEORGE TCHITCHERIN, Commissar for Foreign Affairs, took the opportunity afforded by remarks of Lord Birkenhead, British Secretary for India, to state the position of Soviet Russia with regard to China. The British Minister had said that the disorders in China were caused by another Government and that the British Government regretted it could not take counsel with a united Europe against the scourge of Bolshevism.

On China the Commissar for Foreign Affairs had this to say:

A victim of political oppression on the part of the Great Powers, a victim of economic exploitation on the part of capital from more developed countries, a victim of the direct manifestations of ferocity on the part of the representatives of these Powers in China, the Chinese people rose up against this yoke through mass strikes connected with various forms of political demonstration. None other than Senator Borah, one of the most prominent men in American public life, declared in answer to a resolution by the American Chamber of Commerce in Hankow:

"There will be no disorders in China if foreigners respect the rights of the Chinese people." But a certain more extreme section of the British Conservatives, Lord Birkenhead included among them, desiring to maintain the foreign yoke over the Chinese people, are looking for some scapegoat to sacrifice, with an eye to the public opinion of their own country. However, the charges which they are making against the Soviet Government are false from start to finish.

Tchitcherin insisted that the Soviet Government had undertaken nothing to injure China's foreign trade with any other nation, that Russia wished to see a rejuvenated, centralized and democratic China, freed from the direction of all other powers. He said outspokely that his Government and the Russian people sympathized with the struggle of the Chinese people for the attainment of such aims, but that sympathy on the part of the Soviet authorities did not imply desire to interfere in the

domestic affairs of another nation. "The Chinese people is and must be master of its own destiny. This," he said, "is the basic principle of the Soviet Government."

Replying to Lord Birkenhead's charge that Soviet Russia wished to disrupt the British Empire, the Commissar presented the counter accusation that the British Government had failed to meet repeated overtures of the Soviet Government to settle all differences between them. He parried again with the assertion that the Great Powers were managing the external safety of the Soviet Union; whereas the Soviet Union was building friendly relations with the nations of the East upon the principle of national self-determination. On July 20 Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary, told the House of Commons that the British Government was not satisfied that the clause in the Anglo-Russian trade agreement against propaganda was being faithfully observed by the Soviet Government.

In the meantime the Soviet press had declared that information had been received from an "absolutely authentic source" that Great Britain had secured a long-time lease from Estonia upon the Islands of Dago and Oesel, lying near the sea lane to Kronstadt and Leningrad. Such a lease could mean nothing else to Russian minds than that Great Britain had secured the right to construct a naval base, to build fortifications and to collect the income of the islands.

From Berlin came reports that Soviet Russia on its part proposed to rebuild and enlarge its fleet. The Hamburg correspondent remarked that, owing to the destruction of the German fleet and the socialistic tendencies of the Swedish and Danish Governments, "the Russian fleet is the most important factor in Baltic Sea power today." Naval authorities in Germany, however, did not give so

much importance to Soviet naval plans and operations.

Two Russian engineers are now in the United States to study the electric power industry and to learn the possibilities of purchasing equipment in the United States for proposed developments of the electrical industry in Russia. They intimate that an expenditure of \$80,000,000 will be made.

The Russian Information Bureau at Washington, a Soviet agency, issued a statement on Aug. 4 that trade between the United States and Soviet Russia for the first six months of 1925 equaled that for the whole period of 1924 and exceeded two times that of the corresponding half year in 1913. Statistics were published to show that Soviet Russia purchased American goods to the amount of \$52,610,645. Soviet exports to the United States were valued at \$6,169,091. These figures were said not to include American imports of manganese, which is shipped directly to American companies, nor the business of Russian agricultural cooperative societies with American firms. Nor did they include unfilled orders for future delivery. Cotton for Soviet mills, to the amount of \$26,479,500, was the largest American export to Russia. The All-Russian Textile Syndicate purchased in the past year \$36,300,000 worth of American cotton, with the aid of New York banks.

A Moscow dispatch on Aug. 6 said that American banking representatives are at present in Russia to negotiate for the consolidation of Soviet business relations with the United States and to investigate conditions in the Russian cotton-growing area and in the Soviet textile industry. In this connection a report from Teheran, Persia, of Aug. 1, has much significance. It declared that Soviet authorities are studying the problem of cotton production, that large territories in the Caucasus and Turkestan have been surveyed and found suitable for cotton-growing, that the peasants are now offered land tax-free if they will endeavor to grow cotton.

According to the press in Moscow,

crops everywhere in Russia are above the average in quantity and quality, but more local reports indicate that the harvest has been impeded in the Ukraine and Lower Volga by heavy rains, that in the black soil area, which includes the provinces of Orel, Tula, Tambov, Voronezh and Pensa, a crop failure is officially admitted, that in Northern Caucasia swarms of locusts are infesting the corn fields, that in the Odessa district only three Jewish colonies have had good harvests and the crops of the other twelve are ruined.

The Commissariat of Finance released figures to show that the total amount of Soviet money in circulation on July 1 was equivalent to about \$420,000,000, or 45 per cent. of the currency of 1913. Of this amount \$230,000,000 was in State bank notes, guaranteed by gold and foreign currency on deposit in State vaults. Soviet Treasury notes to the amount of \$120,000,000, silver currency worth \$56,000,000 and \$3,000,000 in copper coins made up the remainder.

The budget for the coming year, now before the Council of Commissars, is estimated at \$1,730,000,000, as compared with \$1,300,000,000 last year and \$1,700,000,000 in 1913. The sale of liquor is expected to yield more than \$2,000,000, nearly 50 per cent. more than the revenue from vodka prior to the overthrow of the Czar. Extraordinary expenditures are allotted to the improvement of Russian agriculture. The Government, it is reported, proposes to issue a special international loan of \$1,500,000,000 for the maintenance of Russian industry.

Czarist refugees in Paris heard that sixteen alumni of the old Imperial Alexander Academy in Leningrad had been executed on July 2, among them Prince Nicholas Golitzin, the Czar's last Premier. Sixty other graduates of the school were deported to North Russia. The decision to wipe out the influence of the institution, long the edu-

cator of Russian aristocracy, seems to have been made by the Bolshevik Government upon learning of a movement in Paris to create a fund for the benefit of the alumni. Such a movement was immediately suspected of being a blind for propaganda against the Soviet régime. From Kiev on July 22 came the report that Princess Olga Volkonsky was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and her property confiscated because she practiced clairvoyance. She opened a fortune-telling par-

lor, it is said, near a barracks of the Red Army and told the soldiers who sought her advice how they could evade military service.

Russian newspapers gave considerable space to the trial of John T. Scopes for violation of Tennessee's law against the teaching of evolution. The Soviet Irreligionists' Society started a fund, as an expression of sympathy with Scopes, for the publication of literature on natural science and for its distribution among the peasantry of Russia.

Nations of Northern Europe

Finland

FOLLOWING a serious drouth, forest fires have spread through Eastern and Northern Finland. Some 100,000 acres have been destroyed or endangered. Military assistance has been necessary. The whole population of some towns has been mobilized. Since several fires started on Russian land and swept over the border, the Finnish Government has asked the Soviet Government to take a hand in the situation.

Estonia

BEFORE taking a recess on June 19 until Oct. 6, the Estonian Parliament ratified the exchange of notes to establish the most-favored-nation relationship between the United States and Estonia. The agreement became operative on Aug. 1.

Statistics for the first quarter of 1925 on the transit trade through Estonia, chiefly by way of Reval with Soviet Russia, showed a marked decrease from the volume of corresponding periods in the preceding years of 1924 and 1923. Estonian experts attributed this result to the diminished purchasing power of the Soviet Union and to the cessation of relief work in Russia by other nations. The decline of Russian exports through Estonia, mostly grain, was explained as the result of the bad harvest in 1924.

Latvia

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs of Latvia, Z. A. Meierovics, made in July a tour around Europe to promote good relations between Latvia and other European countries. He visited Kovno, Berlin, Bruxelles, Paris, London, Rome and Prague and discussed many important political and economic problems with the leading statesmen of those countries. During his journey Mr. Meierovics signed a commercial treaty between Latvia and Belgium and reached an agreement on the repayment of the debt which Latvia owes Great Britain for materials supplied in 1919.

The Latvian Minister of Finance issued a statement to the press declaring that the Government was concerned with measures to improve the country's foreign trade, which at present has an excess of imports over exports. It hoped, he said, to establish new national industries and to strengthen existing enterprises by subventions from the State. Special export credits of twelve months' duration were to be granted. The Government sought to raise the standard of agriculture to meet that prevailing in Western Europe.

The budget for 1925-1926 (April to April), as published by the President of the State, has been balanced at 160,949,256 lats (approximately \$31,000,000).

Lithuania

WHILE at Kaunas (Kovno) to confer with Lithuanian authorities, Mr. Z. Meierovics, Latvia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave a long interview to the press. He declared that Latvia-Lithuanian relations were approaching a juridical basis. A protocol had just been signed (July 1) to conclude a convention of conciliation and arbitration and to establish an economic treaty in which each State would grant to the other all possible facilities for the coordination of customs tariffs on the basis of lists of goods. For the drafting of these lists of goods, it was agreed in the protocol to set up a mixed commission which should assemble alternately at Riga and at Kaunas, beginning not later than Nov. 15, 1925. Both the convention of arbitration and the economic treaty are to be signed simultaneously at Riga not later than March 1, 1926. To promote the adhesion of the three Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—to the treaty and the convention, it was agreed to call a conference of foreign ministers at Riga as soon as possible. The second part of the protocol between Latvia and Lithuania consisted of a convention to regulate timber rafting and navigation on their border rivers.

The problem of the Baltic States for some time has occupied a good part of the attention of the European press. The issue seems to be: Shall they be welded into a large or small union? Shall or shall it not include Poland? The journals of the French Right wish a Baltic Alliance under the leadership of Poland as another Little Entente, and assume that Lithuanian opposition is the product of German or Russian intrigue. The press of the French Left considers the participation of Poland as essential, but asserts that Lithuania also must have proper consideration. On the other hand, all German papers, without regard to partisan affiliations, oppose the creation of a large union, for such an aggregation might be a Polish instrument directed against Germany.

M. Meierovics, in the interview at Kovno, stated that there was no intention of a definite "alliance," and stressed the desirability of a rapprochement between these three Baltic States, as also with Poland and Finland, by means of periodical conferences of the respective Foreign Ministers. European observers of the turbulence in South-eastern Europe for the past quarter-century want least of all to see the Baltic States become another Balkans.—A. B. D.

Other Nations of Europe

By JOHN VINCENT MARTIN
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THE Directory has no intention of laying down its task at an early day. A rumor having been circulated to the effect that a general parliamentary election would be held in October, an official note was issued stating that the intimation was untrue. Observing that "two years are only a moment in the life of a nation" the Directory

note declared the Government, which took office in 1923, had not had sufficient time to complete the necessary reforms, and, at any rate until the Moroccan problems had been solved, the moment for a return to constitutional government would not have arrived.

The Patriotic Union, which is the political party formed to support the

policy of the Directory, has elected General Primo de Rivera as its chairman. A supreme council of the Union, formed of representatives from forty-nine provinces, was scheduled to meet at Madrid in the early Autumn. It was announced that the Union would have its own newspaper, named *La Nacion*, the first number of which was to appear on Sept. 13, the second anniversary of the Directory.

It was evident that the war in Morocco would continue to figure in Spanish history until peace had been effected with Abd-el-Krim. The agreements reached by the Governments of France and Spain with regard to the prosecution of the war have been shrouded in more or less of mystery. It was apparent, however, that the Directory did not intend to throw great weight into a military attack from the Spanish side, but would endeavor to hold the attention of the Riffs on the side of Tetuan and Mellila while the French attempted to drive them out of southern Morocco. During August, however, the Moors held their position.

Portugal

A CABINET crisis and a military revolt were the outstanding events in Portugal during July. The Ministry headed by Antonio da Silva as Premier and Minister of War resigned on July 17 after an existence of two weeks. The motion of lack of confidence was passed by a majority of 9 votes. The action of the Chamber came as a climax to a heated political debate which had continued without interruption throughout the night and until 5 o'clock the next afternoon.

The life of the Government was apparently prolonged by the outbreak of revolution, which was the second attempt at revolution in Portugal in the last three months. The revolt was started by seven officers who had been prisoners in Fortress Julian since the revolt of last April. They escaped, and with the Field Telegraph Corps and about thirty men with guns joined the warship *Vascoda da Gama*, the crew of

which also mutinied and opened fire from the vessel on the Government troops. Fighting also occurred west of the city. The mutineers were soon surrounded and captured and the *Vascoda da Gama* surrendered under threat of bombardment. The Cabinet definitely resigned on July 20, thus avoiding a grave political situation, as President Gomes had refused the request of Premier da Silva for dissolution of Parliament. The temporary rule of martial law ended on July 26 and on that day Domingos Pereira, President of the Chamber of Deputies, conferred with the President respecting the President's invitation that he, Pereira, form a new cabinet. This was accomplished early in August.

The situation indicated serious disorganization in Portugal. The lack of discipline in the army and navy, the frequent revolts and ministerial crises, and the chaotic condition of political parties were unpromising. With Communism strong in Lisbon there were prospects of outbreaks of a more serious character than the disturbances recorded this year.

Holland

THE result of the general election for the Dutch Second Chamber gave the following schedule of party representation:

Roman Catholics...	30	Radicals	7
Calvinist Anti-Revo- lutionary Party..	13	Orthodox Calvin- ists	3
Christian Histori- cal	11	Communists	1
Social Democrats...	34	Peasants' Party..	1
		Roman Catholics	
Liberals	9	Peoples' Party.	1

The Roman Catholics, the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party and the Christian Historical Party, which formed the Right Coalition, had hitherto held fifty-nine seats, a working majority of 8 votes. The election having left this group with only 54 votes, the Beerenbrouck Cabinet resigned. After consultation with various political leaders, Queen Wilhelmina invited H. Colyn,

the Minister of Finance in the late Government, to form a new Cabinet.

M. Colyn is the leader of the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party, one of the three parties of the Right Coalition which are in a majority in Parliament, but his drastic measures to ameliorate the national financial situation, especially his considerable reduction of wages of the State employees and officials, have caused much resentment. However, at a public meeting of his party he declared that in the provisional budget for 1926 the national deficit had been eliminated and the budget balanced.

According to the view of the correspondent of The London Times, M. Colyn is not *persona grata* with the democratic element among the Roman Catholics, one of the other coalition parties. It is felt, too, in some Roman Catholic quarters that, in view of the fact that the Roman Catholic Party is the strongest of the three coalition parties, a Roman Catholic should have been asked to form a Cabinet. It is, further, no secret that the Christian Historical Party, the third member of the coalition, has little sympathy with M. Colyn. The difficulties of a Cabinet working with so narrow a margin of votes became, therefore, a subject of serious consideration among experienced politicians.

Many thousands of persons were made homeless as a result of a storm which did great damage throughout Holland on Aug. 10. The economic loss was placed at 1,000,000 florins. The storm swept across three provinces and destroyed many villages.

A Chinese riot in the Dutch East Indies was reported in a despatch from Batavia on July 16. Whether this had a political or social significance was not stated. The Chinese appeared to have taken umbrage at the opening of a circus at Medan Deli. Pamphlets were circulated the night before calling upon their countrymen to boycott the show, and eventually the crowd indulged in stone-throwing and jeering, wounding the owners and beating a policeman badly. Two arrests were made.

Denmark

THE Danish Government was understood to be prepared to consider proposals from the United States for a most favored nation treaty with regard to Greenland, such as was negotiated recently with Great Britain. That agreement provides for most favored nation treatment on the east coast of Greenland for British citizens, companies and ships.

Social amenities with Americans were promoted in July by the visit of four United States torpedo boat destroyers. Their commanders were given special attention by King Christian and the Minister of Marine, as well as by the American Minister.

The Socialist Cabinet was made the subject of an animated attack from the conservative opposition in an extra session of the Riksdag on July 24, but late at night the Government received a vote of confidence.

It was announced during July that the Danish-Norwegian Board of Conciliation, of which Lord Cecil of Chelwood had been invited to be President, would consist of five members, the other four being chosen by Denmark and Norway, two by each country. The board will have to deal with all disputes that have not been settled by ordinary diplomatic methods and that are not justiciable before the Permanent Court of International Justice. Several such arbitration and conciliation treaties have been concluded since the war between the different States of Scandinavia and the Baltic. It is interesting to note with regard to the above that the Danish Government has laid before the Council of the League of Nations a proposal for a general board of conciliation which should undertake a similar task for the world at large.

Norway

THE outstanding event of the month was the celebration on Aug. 14 of Norway's annexation of the islands of Spitzbergen. Norway was given sovereignty over this Arctic archipelago un-

der the terms of the Spitzbergen treaty, which was signed in Paris on Feb. 9, 1920. The treaty was in accordance with a previous decision of the Allied Supreme Council. The Spitzbergen islands, or Svalbard islands, as they were originally known, were discovered by Norsemen in 1194. Annexation ceremonies were held in all the principal centres of Norway; Premier Mowinkel issued a statement expressing joy at the fulfillment of the treaty and declaring the day to be one of historic importance for Norway.

Sweden

INTEREST in public affairs centred during the month upon the opening of the Swedish wireless station at Grimeton, on Sweden's west coast. The completion of the new service, which was the occasion of an exchange of formal messages between King Gustaf V and President Coolidge, emphasized the steadily improving relations between Sweden and the United States and the important position Sweden occupies as an intermediary between the Western Hemisphere and the countries east of the Baltic. The new station was built by the Swedish Government in cooperation with the Radio Corporation of America, expressly for the purpose of establishing direct communication between Sweden and the United States. The experiences during the war revealed to these countries the mutual inconveniences and dangers of being unable to exchange either mail or telegrams without the control and permission of a third nation. Already over 95 per cent. of the private telegrams from Sweden to the United States are sent via this wireless service, and in order to compete with the station the cable companies have cut their rates by one-third.

After having reorganized the army, the Social-Democratic Government of Sweden made preparations during the summer to do the same for the navy; it was announced that a bill for that purpose would be introduced at the next session of the Riksdag. The actual pol-

icy in this regard continued a secret. The Swedish navy now comprises 111 vessels of various types and sizes. The visit to the Baltic ports by a strong squadron of the British fleet and the alarms expressed by the Soviet press over the reported lease of the islands of Dago and Oesel as a naval base to Great Britain combined to open the eyes of the Swedes to the fact that the naval control of the Baltic is now almost exclusively in British hands and that this fact might in a future emergency tie Sweden's hands.

After the adjournment of the Riksdag the internal political situation became quiet; the only development was the formation of a voluntary organization to promote stronger national defenses; the new body was declared by the Social-Democrats to be inspired by Fascist ideals. The Social-Democratic press extended an invitation to the left wing of the Liberal group to cooperate for the enactment of social betterment bills; it was thought likely, however, that such a plan would be wrecked by the difference of opinion between the two factions on the subject of prohibition, the left wing Liberals being in favor of it and the Social-Democrats opposed.

The war-time visa charges on passports have been abolished between Sweden and the United States for tourists, but remain for emigrants in either direction. Applications for passports by would-be emigrants continued to exceed the quota fixed by the United States law. During August there was a waiting list of 20,000 and, denied the prospect of early passports for the United States, some eager youths planned to emigrate to Australia.

Sweden's cautious financial policy during the war and after was reported to be bearing fruit in the decreased cost of living. Statistics recently published showed for the last quarter that the price of necessities went down one index point. The 700th anniversary of the Cathedral of Visby was celebrated in the presence of the King and Queen, prelates from many countries about the Baltic and thousands of tourists.

Turkey and the Near East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER and A. T. OLMSTEAD
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Turkey

MUCH unfavorable comment has been caused in a section of the Turkish press by the arrival of United States Senator William H. King, who is accused of being pro-Greek and pro-Armenian.

Conditions in Kurdistan since the recent uprising have remained disturbed and further operations have been needed. The tekkes, the shrines of local Kurdish saints, have been closed. The "Assyrian" Christians who petitioned the Mosul Boundary Commission of the League of Nations for inclusion in Iraq, are reported to have been harshly treated by the Turks. Timotheos, Bishop of Zakho, telegraphed King Faisal for aid against the Turks, asserting that they threaten his people with annihilation. Since the Goyan territory is north of the Brussels line, Faisal has declined to interfere.

Election of a noted theologian, the 70-year-old Metropolitan of Nicaea, Mgr. Basil Georgiades, as Greek Patriarch, July 13, solved the difficult question of who should succeed the former Patriarch, Constantine VI. The new Patriarch will be known as Basil III.

Before Sultan Wahid-ed-Din left Constantinople in November, 1922, he is said to have founded a secret society whose purpose was his restoration to the throne. Members of this organization, ex-officers of the army, have recently been arrested in Anatolia, where they were traveling disguised as commercial travelers.

Among recent indications of modernization are the following: Laws have been passed making monogamy universal, enforcing registration of marriages, and permitting women to inherit equally with men. Yildiz Kiosk, once the retreat of Abdul Hamid, is to be leased by the municipality to a foreign com-

pany and is to be used as an amusement park. The Koranic prohibition of images is to be defied by the erection of statues of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. That in Constantinople will be a heroic bronze and will be set up by the municipality, that in Konia will be equestrian.

An official statement published on Aug. 13 stated that Mustafa Kemal Pasha, President of the Turkish Republic, had divorced his wife, Latife Hanoum, by a special decree, effective from Aug. 5. In the recent changes in the régime of Turkey the power of the Sheik-ul-Islam, head of the Mohammedan religion in Turkey, to grant divorces was vested in the President, who thus became empowered to issue his own decree of divorce.

Smyrna has achieved a noteworthy economic revival. Exports last year, especially of sultana raisins, tobacco and figs, totalled over 57,000,000 Turkish pounds, about \$31,000,000, which was £T 9,000,000, or about \$5,000,000 in excess of imports. Adana reports an increase of cotton production from 69,000 bales in 1923 to 200,000 bales in 1924. Business in Constantinople showed some revival, due to the local trade between Turkey and the Balkans. Efforts of Italy to establish herself economically in the Near East were reported to have had some success.

Egypt

THE British Cabinet decided on July 17 to accept the recommendation of the Committee on Imperial Defense that the present British garrison in Cairo be retained to protect the Suez Canal.

Appeal of those sentenced to death in connection with the murder of Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, was dismissed by the Court of Cassation on July 23. Insanity was alleged

in the case of Dr. Shafik Mansur, former member of Parliament.

Newspapers are strenuously objecting to a proposed revision of the Press law, which would punish by imprisonment and suspension publication of inaccurate reports tending to hamper administration. A tendency on the part of the newspapers to subordinate policies to more cultural interests was noted.

A rectorial address from Al Azhar, the famous university in Cairo, denounces the wearing on the street by Moslem women of short skirts and bright colors. The university has also denounced the appearance of women on the stage.

An Egyptian judge, Sheikh Ali Abd el Razek, has published a book, "Islam and the Principles of Government," in which he condemns polygamy; declares that the Koranic law was not intended to form the basis for government regulations, and denies the indispensability of the Caliphate. Attempts to secure government prosecution having failed, he was on July 5 cited before the Superior Council of Al Azhar University.

Appropriations for the construction of a dam across the Nile at Nag Hamadi, below Luxor, and across the White Nile at Gebel Aulia, above Khartum, were on June 14 approved by the Cabinet. On July 21, the proposal of the Suez Canal Company to erect a new town, Port Fuad, on the opposite side of the canal from Port Said, was approved.

Palestine

THE report of Sir Herbert Louis Samuel, the retiring British High Commissioner, has been issued. The financial situation is excellent, a surplus of £600,000 having been accumulated. Turkish taxes, unless obviously unfair, have been in general retained, but farming the tithes has been abandoned, and the tithe reduced from 12½ to 10 per cent. Palestine has now nearly one hundred and fifty industries with an investment of £1,200,000. Malaria has been reduced, 200 village schools opened, 600 miles of new roads

built, which are used by more than a thousand motor cars. References to Arab opponents of the Zionist program have caused dissatisfaction among the natives, and the praise of the Jewish work is not without its alarming side to resident Jews, who fear that the statement that all this progress has been made without government support will set a precedent for its continued absence.

A Jewish State independent of Great Britain was on July 22 demanded by the radical party. Accusations of not living up to the obligations of the mandate were levelled at that country. Dr. Chaim Weizmann was attacked as being too pro-British.

In protest against the introduction of women's suffrage, the orthodox Jews have determined to refrain from voting in the coming elections.

British labor was on Aug. 1 requested by Ben Gurion, Palestine labor representative, to aid in securing labor laws for Palestine. Robert Smillie declared that he could not understand why special Jewish demands should be made in Palestine.

Syria

REPORTS from Syria indicate a dangerous situation, due in part to the withdrawal of the majority of the troops of occupation for service in Morocco. The whole of Druse Mountain, in the extreme southeast, has been lost to the French. Failing to secure the removal of the French Governor of the Druse Mountain, the Druses, a heretical Moslem sect which is also well represented in Mount Lebanon, revolted and were joined by the nomad Arabs east of the Hauran. They claimed they were fighting for a united Syria. General Michaud was sent with a small body of troops, colonials from Madagascar and some Syrian levies, to relieve the capital, Sueida, but on Aug. 8 it was reported that they had been cut to pieces, with the loss of 200 killed, 600 wounded and the capture of the supply train, tanks, guns and airplanes. Five

hundred reinforcements for Morocco were landed in Beirut on Aug. 7.

Turkey has been pressing her claims on Aleppo and on the port of Alexandretta, whose special position was recognized by the Angora treaty of October, 1920. The Turks now claim actual control, with the use of the Turkish flag and language. In revenge for the French refusal to accept this interpretation, the Turks, in a report from Paris of July 8, are alleged to have sent Turkish officers to train the rebels in the Riff, and it is also alleged that a Turkish ship smuggled into the Riff a hundred Red officers of Moslem birth. There are also indications of Turkish contacts with the Moslem population in Syria.

Zionists desire the southern part of Syria, declaring that it is part of Palestine. However, the declaration of Syrian unity by the Druses is an incitement to the Arabs of Palestine and may endanger the position of the Zionists in that country.

Attention is also drawn to the situation in the mandated territory, the northeast angle of which extends to Jeziret ibn Omar, at the south turn of the Tigris. After the Turko-French agreement of 1921, the French established a post at Biandour, but in the end of 1922 this was attacked by Kurds and Turks under Ismail Hakki, former lieutenant-colonel in the Turkish Army, and the post was wiped out. The French then withdrew and since that time the fertile country, with many interesting remains of former civilizations, has been abandoned to anarchy. Appeals to the Syrian Government have been ignored, and the Turkish Government has refused to interfere, as this territory belongs to the French mandate.

Serious rent riots broke out in Beirut on July 20 as a result of the suspension of the provisional Rent Restriction law. In spite of the personal promise of the governor that a just settlement would be made, the mob stoned several public buildings and among others injured the French Town Commandant. A company of Spahis fired machine guns into the crowd, killing three of the rioters.

Iraq

PARLIAMENT was opened at Bagdad on July 16 by King Faisal with a speech from the throne prepared by the Cabinet. Friendlier relations with Great Britain were recognized and the adoption of the economic recommendations of the late commission recommended.

The report of High Commissioner, Sir Henry Dobbs, for the period of his holding office, April, 1923, to December, 1924, expresses regret that in spite of the improvements of the past few years, the economic situation is about that of the last years under Turkish rule. The country is still in a backward state, its chief exports being dates, wool, hides and grain, and these are in little demand in the present worldwide state of economic depression. New measures taken by Persia have also lessened the transit trade from the Persian Gulf to Persia on which the prosperity of Bagdad so largely rested. The troubles with the Shiite religious leaders, with the Turks, and with the Kurds were noted in the report. It was urged that the nationalist aspirations of the Kurds should be given more attention by the Arab nationalists. The Shammar and Anezez tribes refuse to recognize the frontier between Syria and Iraq, but good relations exist between the latter States. The Sultan of Nejd claims advanced boundaries as a result of the protection extended by him to Shammar refugees in 1921. Persia recognized Iraq in October, 1924, and relations with Persia are now good. The educational system is good, so far as it goes, but much remains to be done. The army is only 7,500 but is assisted by detachments of the Royal Air Force.

The report of the financial mission, prepared by Messrs. Hilton Young and R. V. Vernon, was issued on June 26. It showed that there had been a surplus for the last two years, but that this would be wiped out by the addition of Iraq's portion of the Ottoman debt and by the increased army expenditures. It recommended that no increases be made for the time for public works and the

like, suggested a British guarantee of a loan for railroads and bridges, and urged that the railroads, now owned by the British Government but operated by that of Iraq, be formed into a corporation, the shares of which be held by the British and Iraq Governments equally. The report closed with the warning that an unfavorable change in the Mosul boundary would seriously affect the economic resources and increase the difficulty of defense.

The Suleimaniyah region on the Persian frontier has been a centre of disturbances under the leadership of the Kurdish Sheikh Mahmud, who was recently reported to be intriguing with the Turks. Various expeditions had secured only temporary success, and the situation was still serious.

Cotton growing in Iraq has increased from 60 bales in 1921 to 2,500 in 1924.

Arabia

THE question of the Haj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, still agitates the Moslem world. On the news that it had been impossible to land pilgrims at Rabegh, Indian Moslems demanded that Great Britain take steps to enforce the landing, even against the opposition of King Ali. A British ship of war

was therefore sent to "observe conditions" at Rabegh. This action was much resented by the council of legal experts of the Indian Moslems, which declared that Moslems could not tolerate the interference of non-Moslem powers. The pilgrims were successfully landed at Rabegh.

Hussein, ex-king of the Hedjaz, arrived in Cyprus on June 22.

Persia

OVER three thousand deaths were reported in thirty-five villages of the Bakharz district from the mysterious disease which first appeared in 1924. Fifteen thousand Turkomans, well armed, it is believed, from Russia, are in revolt. Three converging columns have advanced against them.

The Majlis, or Parliament, is to create a monopoly on sugar and tea. The added taxes are to apply to railroad and road development. Owing to the more quiet state of the country, the exports show an increase of a third.

The telephone system of Persia is being given a general overhauling by the Société Générale des Téléphones de Perse, holder of a concession giving a sixty-year monopoly of all Persia save Gilan.

The Far East

By QUINCY WRIGHT

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China

THE political situation gradually settled down after the series of outbreaks which followed the shooting of the student demonstrators in Shanghai on May 30. There remained, however, abundant evidence of the intensely hostile attitude which has developed toward foreigners, especially the British and Japanese; the rioting and

violence, however, which characterized the earlier outbursts gave way, for the most part, to the more peaceful methods of demonstration: general strike and boycott. The zone of violence seemed to have moved to the southward, but even the riots which occurred in that district (e. g. Swatow on July 4 and Canton on July 21) were much less serious than those which occurred further north during June. One outbreak

marred the general calm of midsummer, this riot occurring in Nanking on July 31, where one British subject and four Chinese were killed as the result of a wage dispute in a British export company.

Peaceful demonstrations in protest against the shooting of the students in Shanghai and the system of extraterritoriality have been held in nearly all the large cities. In Peking the ceremony took the form of a "Day of Mourning," which was very generally observed, although less universally than had been hoped. In almost every instance these demonstrations were well policed and there was little or no violence. The boycott of English and Japanese goods spread generally throughout the country; the Government on July 15 issued instructions that English bids on railroad materials should not be accepted.

The general strike in Shanghai entered its tenth week, and although there were signs that the strikers were becoming tired of their attempt, there was no real prospect of an early peace. In an effort to settle the controversy a number of attempts at private negotiations were made, but up to the middle of August these proved fruitless. Many of the smaller shops opened, but the foreign-owned factories and mills remained for the most part closed. The general strike spread to a number of other large cities, and proved effective enough to prevent the departure of ships from Hongkong and Amoy on scheduled time. A date was set for a general strike throughout the country, but this was later postponed, ostensibly due to the difficulty of organizing the movement over such a large territory. The funds of the Shanghai strikers fell so low that efforts were made to swell the treasury by collections in other Chinese cities, and even in foreign countries.

The Chinese themselves seemed to have made desperate attempts to preserve order by their own police or military forces. The Tupan of Hankow took firm steps to suppress all forms of agitation, even prohibiting the collection of funds to aid the Shanghai

strikers. In Shanghai the headquarters of the labor unions were closed by the Chinese on July 23. A larger military force was stationed in and near Peking. Some of these efforts seemed to be little more than gestures on the part of the military leaders in the hope that they might secure foreign aid for their adventures. Marshal Feng endeavored to enhance his political strength by taking the opposite side and made a stirring appeal to national pride. The war lords of the interior took advantage of the diversion of popular attention from internal affairs and on July 16 it was announced that a new civil war had broken out in Szechuan.

Further disturbances occurred during August: on Aug. 9 the Chinese staff at the British Legation in Peking went on strike, and on Aug. 12 fatal riots were reported from Hongkong and Tientsin.

The attitude of the Americans in China appeared to be sharply divided. The American Association in Shanghai, along with a number of other foreign associations, petitioned the home Government to cooperate with the other powers in adopting a firmer attitude toward China. The statements of Senator Borah in Shanghai, denouncing the "imperialistic" ventures of the American Chamber of Commerce in China evoked strong protests from the American merchants. On the other hand, the teachers and missionaries were much inclined to sympathize with the Chinese point of view. One hundred and seventy missionaries recently signed a circular letter approving of the stand of Senator Borah and claiming that it had had a quieting effect on the Chinese.

Negotiations growing out of the Shanghai incident were delayed by tactical manoeuvres on both sides. Three distinct questions arose and these became so intertwined as greatly to confuse the actual situation. One question involved the status of the municipal authorities of Shanghai, who had come completely under the control of the local foreign residents of the city. The Peking Legations demanded the right to supervise the municipal affairs of the city. A second issue centred around

the proposed judicial inquiry into the facts relative to the Shanghai incident. In general the Foreign Offices of the European powers seemed to favor such an investigation and it was suggested that a Chinese judge be asked to sit with the Judicial Commission. The Chinese opposed such an inquiry on the ground that it is only a pretext to delay the consideration of the more fundamental questions and thus to divert public attention from them.

The third question, which caused more discussion than either of the other two, is that of extraterritoriality. The Chinese insisted that this matter be taken up first; and appointed a high commission of three (Dr. W. W. Yen, C. T. Wang and Admiral Tsai Ting-Kan) to press their views. But the European powers held back, declaring that the time was not ripe to discuss the judicial system of China until she could demonstrate that order could and would be preserved.

John Van A. MacMurray on July 15 presented his credentials to the Chinese Government as the new American Ambassador. One of his first problems was that which arose as the result of the murder of Morgan Palmer and the kidnapping of Dr. H. J. Howard (both Americans) by bandits in Manchuria. It was announced at the American Legation that these unfortunate events were quite unconnected with the general political situation.

Japan

A MINISTERIAL crisis developed on July 30, which led Premier Kato to form a new Cabinet. Fiscal questions had been before the Ministry for some time, and although it was generally recognized that retrenchment and increased taxation were necessary, considerable differences of opinion arose relative to the methods to be followed. These divergences of opinion led the Premier to ask for the resignation of the three Ministers who were members of the Seiyukai Party, the political organization which had been most outspoken in the criticism of

his proposals. These Ministers failed to resign, and thereupon the Premier placed the resignation of the entire Cabinet in the hands of the Prince Regent. Kato was forthwith commanded to form a new Ministry. The reconstructed Cabinet included all the members of the old, except the three Seiyukai Ministers. These were replaced by leaders in the Kenseikai Party, to which the Premier belongs. The new Ministers are: Justice, Yuko Egi, Chief Secretary of the last Cabinet; Agriculture and Forestry, Chukuon Kataoka, former Parliamentary Secretary for the Home Office, and Commerce and Industry, Seiji Hayami, former Parliamentary Vice Minister of Finance.

It seemed improbable that the new Cabinet would be able to hold the confidence of the Diet when it reconvened in December. All parties were anticipating a dissolution and general election shortly after the next assembly of the Diet. The new Ministerial change foreshadowed the probable party alignments next December. Baron Tanaka, who recently assumed leadership of the Seiyukai Party, has been able to negotiate the first step toward an amalgamation with the Seiyuhonto Party. The latter agreed on "close cooperation" in the coming elections, and the President of the Seiyuhonto even expressed his willingness to become Vice President of a new party with Tanaka as President. It was thought possible that this fusion would give Tanaka enough support in the Diet to enable him to become Premier. Much depended upon the result of the general election, for which preparations were being made with especial care because a large body of newly enfranchised electors will then exercise their rights for the first time.

Japan's economic condition seemed to be slowly improving. Midyear reports indicated that for the first time in several years the country would end the year with a favorable trade balance.

The sudden death of the American Ambassador to Japan, Edgar Addison Bancroft, at Karuizawa on July 28, was the cause of great sorrow among both the Japanese and the Americans. Thou-

sands lined the streets when his body passed through Kawuisawa, Tokyo, and Yokohama. Some of the highest officials of the empire, including the entire Cabinet, attended the rites, and the State Department reported that unprecedented honors were accorded. The

body was transported to the United States on the Japanese cruiser Tama, which was offered for that service by the Japanese Government. Edwin L. Nevill, Japanese Secretary of the Embassy, assumed the position of Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

International Events

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

Ad Interim Professor of American History, Yale University

THE question of a security pact, which for more than six months has engaged particularly the attention of France, Great Britain and Germany, entered upon a further stage on July 20 with the submission by the German Government of a reply to the French note of June 16. The reply was devoted to a discussion, in principle but not in detail, of three points which the French note had raised. To the assertion in the French note that "settlement of the question of security must not involve modification of the treaties of peace," the German Government replied that "the conclusion of a pact of security as outlined in the German suggestions does not represent modification of existing treaties," but that it was regarded by Germany as "self-evident" that the proposal "is not meant to exclude for all future time the possibility of adapting existing treaties at the proper time to changed circumstances by way of peaceful agreement." To hold the treaty provisions regarding military occupation of German territory "as sacrosanct for the future" would "represent an innovation of such importance that it could not but react on conditions in the occupied territories and questions of occupation in general."

Taking up next the question of the arbitration treaties which Germany was prepared to conclude, the German reply pointed out that the French note, together with the correspondence between

Great Britain and France concerning it, implied that "coercive actions may take place without any regular procedure laid down in advance by arbitral or some other international procedure." If the guarantors of the treaties, meaning thereby the British and French Governments, were to be free to resort to reprisals at "their own unilateral discretion," "the system of guarantees would by such construction be invalidated to the sole detriment of Germany," and no real pacification would be attained.

With regard to the third question, that of German membership in the League of Nations, the German Government, while not viewing such membership as "a necessary condition for the realization of the fundamental ideas of the German memorandum," nevertheless expressed its willingness to have the two questions joined. It was pointed out, however, that

Germany as a member of the League of Nations can only be considered as enjoying equal rights when her disarmament is followed by the general disarmament provided by the Covenant of the League of Nations and the preamble to Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. Therefore if the immediate entrance of Germany into the League of Nations is to be rendered possible, a solution has to be found to tide over the time until general disarmament has become a reality. This solution would have to pay due regard to the special military and economic as well as the special geographical situation of Germany.

The reply was hailed with more sat-

isfaction in Great Britain than in France, notwithstanding an optimistic opinion regarding it which was promptly expressed by M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister. The position of the German Government was strengthened by the action of the Reichstag in voting on July 22 by 235 to 158, its confidence in the security program of the Government. Prime Minister Baldwin, in a speech at Knowsley on July 25, urged haste in reaching an agreement, and on the same day former Chancellor Wirth, leader of the Left Wing of the Catholic Centre Party, commended the proposed pact. A memorandum embodying the views of the Belgian Government was made public on July 30. On Aug. 10, following a preliminary exchange of notes, M. Briand and Austen Chamberlain met in conference at London. It was announced on Aug. 12 that a satisfactory agreement had been reached regarding the attitude of the two powers, but the terms were not made public.

INTERALLIED AND INTERNATIONAL DEBTS

The question of the interallied debts has been a subject of discussion rather than of definite understanding during the period under review. Premier Painlevé of France, in a speech at Antun on Aug. 3, declared France's purpose to liberate herself as soon as possible of her international as well as her internal debt. In a speech in the Belgian Chamber on July 15 Paul Hymans, Foreign Minister, urged strongly the priority claims of Belgium, not only as a concession granted by the Allies on account of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839, but also as a condition under which Belgium signed the Treaty of Versailles. A conference between French and British representatives at London on July 27 came to nothing, the French terms, it was understood, being unacceptable.

Discussion of the Belgian debt to the United States, which began at Washington on Aug. 10 between a Belgian commission and the American War Debt Commission, had not been completed

when this account was written. After conferences extending through a week, the Belgian and American Commissions adjourned on Aug. 14 until Aug. 18; considerable progress had been made, but the commissions had not yet been able to reach an agreement. It was stated that the chief difficulty was involved in the rate of interest; the American commission consented to rates lower than those contained in the British-American agreement, but the Belgian Commissioners were not prepared to accept the rates specified. Both commissions were optimistic as to the final outcome, many obstacles having been overcome at the conferences; a notable development along this line was Belgium's agreement to fund both the pre-armistice and post-armistice debts without demanding that the United States accept German bonds for any portion of the total. When the commissions adjourned on Aug. 14 the problems at issue were placed in the hands of President Coolidge and the Belgian Government. The Belgian debt to the United States totaled \$480,000,000.

Negotiations between the United States and Latvia were reported to have reached the point of a provisional settlement. The intention of Czechoslovakia to send a debt commission to Washington was announced on July 25, and an explicit statement of the intentions of the Rumanian Government regarding its debt was reported to have been requested by the American Minister at Bucharest.

Russia's offer to France for repayment of pre-war debts was still being considered by the French Government on Aug. 6.

China's debt to the United States of \$6,137,552, the final instalment of that country's indemnity for the Boxer outbreaks, was remitted by President Coolidge on July 20, under authority granted by Congress in May, 1924. The indemnity was originally fixed at \$24,000,000, but Congress in 1908 ordered a large part of it eliminated. Twenty-four years ago, when the powers exacted the indemnity, the United States protested

vigorously and has ever since maintained that the indemnity should be returned to China for the benefit of the Chinese nation. The amount remitted, it was understood, was to be used for educational and scientific purposes.

SECOND CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT

During the last month the prospects for a second conference on the limitation of armaments have become more definite. It was reported from Swampscott on July 28 that President Coolidge would call another conference as soon as the principal European powers should agree upon a security pact. The European countries which were parties to the Washington conference of 1921-22 have been informed of the plans of the Administration to sponsor another conference.

UNITED STATES POLICY ON CHINA

On July 16 the Department of State made public further information concerning the policy of the United States with respect to the troubles in China. The United States favored the immediate ratification and execution of the Nine-Power treaties negotiated at the Washington Conference of 1921-22, and was carrying on informal exchanges of views with the other Powers in the hope that a common course of action with respect to China could be adopted. On July 22 it was announced that the Powers were virtually in accord and that definite proposals for settlement of pending questions growing out of the recent disturbances in China would be presented to the Peking Government. The general character of the proposals was as follows: (1) Convocation of the Chinese customs revision conference as soon as possible and creation of an international commission to inquire into the problem of extraterritoriality in China. (2) Reference of the question of responsibility for bloodshed in the recent Shanghai riots to judicial inquiry, with the participation of the Chinese Government, and an obligation on the part of all Governments to accept the findings. On July 29 it was

announced that the exchange of ratifications of the Nine-Power treaties would be completed on Aug. 5 by the French and that on or before Nov. 5 the Chinese customs conference would begin at Peking. The American delegates will be Minister John Van A. MacMurray, the new American Ambassador, and Silas H. Strawn. It was announced also that gratifying progress had been made in arranging for the organization of the commission on extraterritoriality.

MOSUL BOUNDARY DISPUTE

In a report submitted to the League of Nations on Aug. 7, the commission appointed by the League to recommend a settlement of the Mosul boundary, for some time in dispute between Turkey and Great Britain, proposed three alternative solutions. The first provided for a League mandate over the Mosul region for twenty-five years, the Kurds in the meantime to be given administrative officials, Judges and teachers of their own race and the Kurdish language to be recognized as the official language of the region. The second proposed to assign the region to Turkey in case the British mandate over Iraq, which expires in four years, should terminate, provided the Kurds cannot be given guarantees under Iraq rule, the reason being that the inhabitants prefer Turkish to Arabian sovereignty. The third alternative was a division of the disputed territory at the line of the Lesser Zab River, a tributary of the Tigris between Mosul and Bagdad, in the event that the League should see fit to partition the territory.

The report, the substance of which became public some time before it was submitted, was criticized as advisory only and not, as had been anticipated, as a definite proposal of settlement. The unfavorable reception accorded to it in Turkey was enhanced by the charge, formulated by the Turkish Government on June 23 in a note to the League, that the British had used aircraft to bomb a village whose inhabitants had come forward in a body to demand annexation

to Turkey, and that a large number of persons had been killed and others carried as prisoners to Mosul or Bagdad. The reply of the British Government on July 10 admitted the bombing and other punitive measures, but declared that they were necessitated by disorders in the region due to Turkish propaganda.

SLAVERY IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA

Some interest was aroused early in July by the presentation to the League of Nations of a report by Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, declaring that slavery existed in the Portuguese African colonies. As the League deals with Governments and not with individuals, objection was made to considering the report, and information regarding the status of Professor Ross was sought at Washington. Secretary of State Kellogg replied on July 15 that Professor Ross had no connection with the United States Government. As the reply conveyed no criticism of Professor Ross it was accepted as "satisfactory," but for reasons of procedure the consideration of the charges was postponed to July, 1926.

TRAFFIC ON THE DANUBE

Among a number of reports regularly submitted to the League the most important was that of Walker D. Hines on traffic conditions on the Danube. The report stated that although the Danube fleets had 25 per cent. more tonnage than before the war, traffic on the river was today only about 50 per cent. of normal pre-war traffic. An increase of 50 per cent. for the first six months of the present year over the corresponding period of 1924 was attributed to shipments of corn from Serbia to the Black Sea:

Post-war diminution of traffic is largely due to economic depression characteristic of Europe, but is intensified by the breaking up of the wide free-trade areas which existed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At present the river is cut by seven customs barriers. * * * The petty attitude not only of officials of the various riparian States but of the Governments themselves adds to the difficulties. The

Serb State and Rumania exclude all foreign navigation companies from handling internal traffic on the Danube in their respective countries, and on tributaries which now are treated as territorial waters. Hungary and Serbia maintain separate frontier stations at the common frontier, involving double delay and formalities. * * * Although port facilities are greater than before the war, port difficulties are numerous. Austrian and Hungarian companies are denied the right to use many port facilities in Serbia and Rumania which previously belonged to them. Acting on the general law designed to protect domestic labor, certain navigation companies have been notified by the Serb State to replace agents and employes with Serb nationals. The Belgrade port authorities subject foreign vessels to double taxation and exclude them from certain forms of international traffic because landing facilities are on the Save river, which is territorial water.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES

A number of congresses having to do with various aspects of international relations have been in session during the period under review. The World Federation of Educational Associations, at which 180 American delegates were reported to be in attendance, met at Edinburgh on July 19. Augustus O. Thomas, Superintendent of Public Schools of Maine, was re-elected President. The International Council of Nurses convened at Helsingfors on July 23, and the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches at Stockholm on Aug. 6. The Institute of International Relations opened its second session at Geneva on Aug. 9, with some 300 British and American students and an elaborate program of lectures and conferences. The Williamstown (Mass.) Institute of Politics, which began its sessions on July 23, brought together as in previous years a notable array of scholars, publicists and Government officials for the consideration of current political problems, a number of them in the field of international interests.

Great Britain has become a party to the Franco-Spanish agreement, signed at Madrid on July 21, relating to the neutrality and security of the international zone of Tangier.

From Foreign Periodicals

As Seen by German Eyes

From the KREUZZEITUNG, Berlin, July 12, 1925

THE viewpoint of the type of German Nationalist that forms the essential element of the present coalition Government of Germany, regarding the psychology and present aims of France, is vividly expressed by Count Wedel, the eminent author of this article, which analyzes French character from a most hostile angle. Count Wedel intimates that France's evacuation of the Ruhr (now virtually completed) took place only because there was no financial inducement for her to stay. "The French," he declares, "love money much more than the Germans." The occupation's only object, he asserted, was to keep a pledge on which to base extortionate demands upon Germany. He continues with the following unflattering portrait of French insincerity and even hypocrisy, as seen by German eyes:

This attempt is very characteristic of French policy. The French, before the world and especially before us, wish to play the rôle of "good apostles" and exhibit ostentatiously their alleged conciliatory disposition. The Frenchman is a born actor; he has this dramatic instinct in his blood; he can act no otherwise. Reality and acting are difficult to disentangle in his case; he is even unable to distinguish them himself, deluding himself with his own play-acting and acting as his own audience. Uhland, the German poet, said very accurately of the "Welsches" that they speak otherwise than they think and think otherwise than they speak. * * * Even today, with few exceptions, all Frenchmen will say that France must reach a loyal understanding with Germany and become her friend. But in the bottom of their heart they think the opposite and act in absolute contradiction with their words, as facts prove sufficiently.

A real understanding with France, Count Wedel declares, would be ideal for Germany, but this is made impossible by France's main obsession, the maintenance of French hegemony in Europe. France, realizing very well that in any such alliance Germany, with her numerical superiority of population ("those unfortunate 20,000,000 inhabitants in excess of French population"), would soon gain predominance, and "this would be absolutely intolerable to France." France's true aim in beginning the World War, he charges, was not to gain revenge for the defeat in 1870 nor even to recover Alsace-Lorraine, but to become the leading military power of Europe, which object she has now been successful in accomplishing. All German efforts to throw off her present state of "slavery" are resented by France, not so much as a threat of new war but as a potential attack upon her military

predominance. This psychology, declares Count Wedel, will make every attempt at conciliation and understanding impossible, and France and Germany must necessarily remain deadly enemies:

We must doubtless seek to reach some modus vivendi with France. But there can be no real peace between the German and the French people. The struggle between Germans and Gauls must continue until the one or the other is forced to abandon the rôle of a great power. France wishes to use the so-called "Security Pact" to forge new chains for us Germans and to dig new traps for us to fall into. Let us be on our guard. The French are still more dangerous for us when they are polite than when they are threatening. "Timeo Danaos!"

The German Budget Miracle

From DIE NEUE RUNDSCHAU, Berlin, June, 1925.

THE "miracle" of an enormous budgetary surplus is viewed by the writer of this article, Julius Hirsch, in the first place, as the culminating point of another "miracle," that of Germany's economic recovery, a process which he had been long pointing out in the face of the catastrophic theories of "practical people," and which has been disclosed to the outside world by United States Ambassador Houghton. In public finance, however, a surplus is not a blessing. Just as a deficit is apt to lead to inflation, so is a surplus a possible incentive to reckless expenditures. As a matter of fact, the present tax burden in Germany is about twice as heavy as that of the greater Germany of pre-war days, and it is, according to estimates of the Ministry of Finance, about 25 per cent. above the actual requirements of the Government. The effect of the excessive taxation is to enhance the shortage of capital, which has been the greatest handicap to Germany's economic rehabilitation and to the restoration of her industrial equipment. The German Government has shown less consideration for the capital requirements of the country than has the Dawes Committee. Furthermore, inasmuch as the taxpaying ability of the German people has to be taken into consideration, under the Dawes plan, in determining the amount of reparations payments, it has been unwise politically to display such an excessive ability to raise taxes in the very first year of the operation of the Dawes plan. The fiscal reform plan of the Government of the Right does not give adequate relief to the taxpayers; it fails, in particular, to relieve the burden of taxation on very small incomes, and it main-

tains such taxes as that on business turnover which are the most harmful to the national economy.

Morocco and the Riff Question

From *LE CORRESPONDANT*, Paris, July 10, 1925

THE anonymous author of this article views Abd-el-Krim's attack on the French with considerable alarm. What is at stake, in his opinion, is nothing less than the security of the French protectorate in Morocco and possibly the future of the entire French establishment in Northern Africa. While French opinion has been prone to minimize the importance of the so-called "dissident" zones in Morocco, their existence has been a handicap both from the economic and from the military standpoint. Yet the "dissidents" were not an immediate danger to the French protectorate as long as the various tribes lived in a state of anarchy. The situation is entirely different now that the Rifians and the Djebalas have been united under a chief who owes his reputation to his victories over Christians. The existence of an independent Riff State is absolutely incompatible with France's security in Northern Africa. There would be, first, the military danger. Should a treaty be negotiated with Abd-el-Krim (in violation of the Protectorate Treaty of 1912) after he had been driven out of the French zone, the most that could be attained would be a precarious truce, which the Riffian chief would break as soon as conditions seemed to him favorable for a new attack on the French zone. The defense of the French border, along a line 300 kilometers long, with an unreliable population in the rear, would require the assignment of 40,000 men to that front, and Morocco's military budget would have to be considerably increased. But that would arouse those parties which even now favor peace at any price; public opinion would forget the danger, and the troops would be withdrawn until the day of catastrophe. Even if a catastrophe is prevented by vigilant measures, constant guerilla warfare, with occasional large scale attacks, will entail much heavier costs in man-power and in money than will an endeavor to reach a definite solution once for all. French domination in Morocco is based on France's prestige, but the latter is, in the last analysis, supported by belief in France's force. A few more such incidents as Abd-el-Krim's raid will ruin that prestige, and an ever larger military force will be required to make up for its loss. The existence of a Riffian State would be just as dangerous politically. The Riff has been a refuge for the old Berber spi-

of independence. Abd-el-Krim, however, is not only the champion of Riffian independence, but is also developing into a leader of Islam against Christianity and a delegate of Moscow against European imperialists. While these activities have not had much success so far, France cannot permit such a centre of propaganda and rebellion to develop. A difficult problem arises from the fact that diplomatic conventions have placed the Riff in the Spanish zone. A radical solution—along the lines followed by Poland in Vilna and by D'Annunzio in Fiume—would require more "diplomatic boldness" than the French rulers have and would also be inexpedient politically; it might be held out "very discreetly" as an *ultima ratio*, but an endeavor should first be made to secure frank co-operation with Spain, which should be based upon Spain's admitted inability to maintain order in her zone and upon the common interests of the two countries in the preservation of order. A revision of the territorial clauses of the Franco-Spanish Treaty of 1912 would enable Spain, at the cost of some "theoretical" territorial sacrifices, to occupy definitely larger territories than she has ever actually conquered and would, above all, give her the prospect of an early termination of her nightmare in Morocco.

The Near-Eastern Mandates

From *LA GRANDE REVUE*, Paris, June, 1925.

M. PIERRE TISSIER analyzes and compares the administrative policies of Great Britain and of France in the mandated territories of the Near East. To England the Near-Eastern mandates are but an instrument for the promotion of her general imperial policy. To secure a basis for her authority as a mandatory power, which is not based upon historical traditions or upon the desires of the local population, England has followed the dual policy of furthering, on the one hand, an Arab movement of a pronounced anti-French character, while building up, on the other hand, an artificial body of pro-British opinion in the shape of the Zionist agency in Palestine, which is a constant source of provocation to the Arab people. This inherently contradictory policy has been responsible for the failure of England's venture in Palestine. On the contrary, France's authority in Syria has a historical basis in her traditional position as protector of the Christian population in that country. It was, however, precisely the adherence of the French to the traditional policy of their country as a Catholic power, which is no longer compatible with her present position as the strongest Moslem

power, and which she explicitly renounced at the San Remo conference, that handicapped the consummation of Syrian unity in the first years of French administration. The policy of France in those years was one of discrimination in favor of the Christian Lebanon, to the disadvantage of Syria proper. The result was to breed discontent among the Moslem majority of the population, of which the British and King Hussein did not fail to take advantage. That policy of religious discrimination was definitely given up when General Sarrail assumed the functions of High Commissioner, in the beginning of 1925. The attitude of the French administration is now one of strict impartiality as far as religious divisions are concerned. While Sarrail's policy has been vehemently denounced in Catholic quarters, it has already contributed to the pacification of the country and has made possible the enactment of such measures as the raising of the state of siege, partial political amnesty and so forth. The problem which the High Commissioner is facing now is that of securing the full measure of political unity that is required for Syria's economic development, by building up a Syrian confederation governed by the European methods of parliamentary democracy. The spirit of the French administration under Sarrail is in full harmony with the provisions of the League of Nations covenant and of the London resolutions. "Palestine is under the mandate of the British Empire, Syria and Great Lebanon are under that of the League of Nations."

Rhine and Vistula

From the *SOZIALISTISCHE MONATSHEFTE*,
Berlin, May, 1925.

IN the face of the German Government's proposals for a security compact designed to obtain for Germany a free hand in the East at the cost of guaranteeing the status quo in the West, Ludwig Quessel maintains that "under conditions as they are now in Europe—that is, as long as Germany and France are not intimately and thoroughly prepared for a true understanding and a genuine economic and cultural co-operation—peace cannot be adequately assured in Europe without including the Vistula in the compact." The Vistula and the Rhine are united by a common fate, and any attempt at disturbing conditions on the former is bound to have an immediate repercussion in the West. The revived agitation for a revision of Germany's eastern frontiers is due to England's influence and has been inspired by her anxiety to secure the balance of power, maintained by brute force, against

France's hegemony on the Continent and the development of a European peace union under the leadership of French democracy. It is England that will be responsible for any conflict that may develop on the Vistula just as she was responsible for the conflagration of 1914.

The Five-Power Compact

From *POLITICA*, Rome, March-April, published
May 25, 1925.

THE attitude of the several powers toward the security compact, which is the subject of this article by Francesco Coppola, is, in his view, entirely determined for each country by its position in the general European equilibrium, and cannot be affected by any changes in the Government personnel or in political tendencies; not even by an event such as the election of Hindenburg. Germany will remain, of all powers, the most eager for the compact. All she will have to pledge herself to is to refrain, as long as she is not ready for a war of revenge, from all such action as she is in no position to undertake in her present state of impotence, while she will obtain in exchange the end of her political isolation, the definite abandonment of the plan of an anti-German three-power compact, security from invasion of her territory by France, the revision of her eastern frontiers, and the breaking up of the France-Poland-Little Entente combination. The greatest alarm was caused by the negotiations for a security compact in Poland and in Czechoslovakia. The discussion of a treaty of mutual guaranty between those two countries, coming at a time when the plan of a Balkan-Danubian anti-Communist combination has been revived, should be a matter of concern to Italy, who ought to watch further development "with special attention and with quite clear and resolute purposes."

The difference in the respective attitudes of Great Britain and of France is due to the fact that to the former the security problem is one of political expediency, whereas it is a matter of permanent historical importance to France. To England the security compact is a means for obtaining the evacuation of all German territory, securing economic stability and peace in Europe, doing away definitely with the Protocol of Geneva and with all plans of universal peace guaranties, without incurring the danger of individual guaranty treaties, and at the same time preserving the appearance of "doing something for France." To France, on the contrary, security against the hereditary enemy is the central problem. Her situation

is tragic. The history of her endeavors, since the armistice, to have that security guaranteed has been one of a series of delusions and disillusionments: Rhine frontier, Anglo-American guaranty, dismemberment of the Reich with the aid of separatist movements, the furthering of republican revolution in Germany, plans of a Danubian federation, a system of vassal states in the East, occupation of the Ruhr, then the Protocol of Geneva, and after its failure the revival of enthusiasm for an Anglo-Franco-Belgian compact, and now, finally, the five-power compact, which gives but an illusion of security, but which France will none the less have to accept for lack of an alternative. With or without a compact the problem of French security will remain unsolved. The ever-present danger to France lies in her numerical inferiority. She has been able to conquer only with the aid of a coalition unprecedented in history, and it is only with the aid of another coalition that she can prevent German revenge. "The problem of security will not be solved by France unless she makes her defense a matter of real and permanent interest to other great powers."

As far as Italy is concerned, the compact may seem to present certain dangers, which are, however, more apparent than real. As the necessity of intervention will have to be determined, in every instance, by the guaranteeing powers themselves, there is no danger of Italy's becoming involved in new conflicts

against her will, by virtue of her obligations under the compact. There is the danger of the growth of a broader and stronger Little Entente in the East, and this danger will have to be watched against. There is, finally, the danger of a serious rapprochement between France and Germany, based upon an economic union which may be detrimental to Italian interests; there is, however, little likelihood of such a union, as sentimental motives will militate against it, and as it would mean a break with both Great Britain and Italy. On the other hand, Italy may derive a number of advantages from the compact. To protect the "security" of her own frontiers, Italy relies upon her own force rather than upon diplomatic guaranties. Such demands, therefore, as new guaranties for the Brenner frontier or against the annexation of Austria by the Reich, are comparatively of a secondary importance and may well be sacrificed to obtain new facilities for expansion in the Mediterranean. More important will be the "negative" gains from the compact: the automatic and final elimination of the Protocol of Geneva and of any system of enforced peace, as well as of the French plan of a three-power compact, and, above all, the purely provisional and platonic failure of the compact and its inevitable failure to consolidate the present European equilibrium, in whose maintenance Italy is not in the least interested.

Deaths of Persons of Prominence

LUCIUS ELMER SAYRE, Dean of the School of Pharmacy of Kansas University since 1891, at Lawrence, Kan., on June 21, aged 78.

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, former Secretary of State, at Dayton, Tenn., on July 26, aged 65.

JEAN MARIE BOTREL, French poet and author of popular songs, at Quimper, France, on July 27, aged 57.

EMIL EICHHORN, Communist member of the German Reichstag, and a leader in the unsuccessful Spartacus revolution in 1919, at Berlin, on July 27.

EDGAR ADDISON BANCROFT, United States Ambassador to Japan, at Karuizawa, Japan, on July 28, aged 67.

GEORGES SYLVIAN, Haitian diplomat, President of the Patriotic Union of Haiti and former Haitian Minister to France, at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, on Aug. 3.

JAY BACKUS WOODWORTH, Professor of Geology at Harvard University and Director of the seismological station at that institution at Cambridge, Mass., on Aug. 5, aged 60.

SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, Indian Nationalist leader and head of the Indian Liberal Party in Bengal, at Calcutta, on Aug. 6, aged 77.

GEORGE GRAY, American jurist and diplomat, and a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, at Wilmington, Del., on Aug. 7, aged 85.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, American author and editor, at Washington, D. C., on Aug. 8, aged 69.

THEODORE SPIERING, American composer, at Munich, Germany, on Aug. 11, aged 54.

PRINCE L. CAMPBELL, President of the University of Oregon, at Eugene, Ore., on Aug. 14, aged 64.

CHARLES MATTESON, retired Chief Justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court, at Providence, R. I., on Aug. 14, aged 85.

SIR ADAM BECK, prominent in the industrial and political life of Ontario, at London, Ontario, on Aug. 15, aged 68.

WORLD FINANCE

A Month's Survey



BY FRANCIS H. SISSON, PROMINENT AMERICAN FINANCIER

A REDUCTION in the Bank of England's rate, a vote of £10,000,000 in the House of Commons for the coal mining industry in Great Britain, and the meeting of the American and Belgian Debt Commissions to discuss the funding of Belgium's war debt to the United States were the principal financial developments during the last month.

The announcement of the change in the British bank rate from 5 to 4½ per cent. on Aug. 6 came apparently as a complete surprise to financial circles on both sides of the ocean. The London Stock Exchange, which was said to have been quite unprepared for the action of the Bank of England, reflected its satisfaction in an immediate rise in stock prices, particularly gilt-edge stock and English railway securities. It will be remembered that in March the rate was raised from 4 to 5 per cent., following an advance in the New York Federal Reserve Bank rate from 3 to 3½ per cent. When, at the end of April, the restoration of the gold standard was decided upon, there were widespread fears that a large outflow of gold would take place because of the depression in the British export industries, and that a rise in the bank rate to 6 or 7 per cent. would ensue very quickly. For a week or two there was a substantial export of gold, but it soon was offset by an influx of the metal from various places. Gold holdings of the Bank of England on the date of the change in the bank rate were the largest in the history of the institution, amounting to £164,272,002. Before the war the largest gold reserve ever held was £43,634,723, on Jan. 28, 1914. The largest amount during the war was £74,585,063 in armistice week, 1918.

GOLD FROM FRANCE

A shipment in gold bars received from France on Aug. 1 by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York was understood to represent part of the \$10,000,000 interest payment made available by France on its debt to the United States for our surplus war materials purchased after the armistice. A cable from Paris stated that it was authoritatively learned there that the gold was not a part of the Bank of France's reserve, but was held for safe keeping and never appeared on the bank's balance sheet. The gold shipment, the first important one made by France in many months, caused the imports of gold at New York

for the week ended Aug. 1 to exceed the exports for the first time in a long period. Of the principal amount of \$3,340,512,817 owed to the United States by France, \$407,341,145 represents obligations to the War and Navy Departments resulting from the sale of war materials. This item is being carried as a separate account in the debt table, and on it interest of 5 per cent., amounting to \$20,367,057 a year, is being paid by France. No payments have as yet been made on the principal.

The gold movement at the Port of New York in July was even smaller than in June, according to the report of the Federal Reserve Agent made public on Aug. 1. For the first twenty-eight days of the month gold exports totaled only \$2,100,000 and imports aggregated \$500,000, leaving an export balance of \$1,600,000. June reports for the whole country, the Federal Reserve Agent stated, showed that both exports and imports of gold were smaller than in May, although the export balance of \$2,300,000 was slightly larger. During the first half of 1925, total exports amounted to \$190,900,000 and imports to \$40,700,000, making a net export of \$150,200,000.

NATIONAL BANK RESOURCES

The statement issued on Aug. 7 by the office of the Comptroller of the Currency disclosed that national bank resources showed an increase of \$1,784,944,000 during the year ended last June 30, including an advance of \$518,400,000 in the last three months of that period. The statement was based on reports from the last national bank call and placed total resources of the 8,072 national banks at \$24,350,863,008, the largest on record except for the period ended Dec. 31, 1924. Total deposit liabilities amounted to \$19,909,669,000, exceeding by \$1,561,832,000 those on June 30, 1924, and by \$526,722,000 those on April 6. The total banking resources of the country, including State and private banks, was \$60,512,000,000, and total deposits were \$50,500,000,000, according to the report of the Comptroller of the Currency as of April 8.

RAILROAD REVENUES

The Class 1 railroads, having a total of 236,594 miles, had aggregate gross operating revenues of \$2,895,220,250 in the first six months of 1925. This was an increase of \$22,838,589, or nearly 1